

OLD ETRURIA AND MODERN TUSCANY

MARY LOVETT CAMERON

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OLD ETRURIA
AND
MODERN TUSCANY



Alinari, photo.

MINERVA

Etruscan Museum, Florence

**OLD ETRURIA
AND
MODERN TUSCANY**

**BY
MARY LOVETT CAMERON**

WITH THIRTY-TWO ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO
LORD AVEBURY
THE KINDEST OF FRIENDS
WITHOUT WHOSE UNFAILING ENCOURAGEMENT
THIS LITTLE BOOK WOULD NEVER
HAVE BEEN WRITTEN

PREFACE

THIS book does not attempt to solve any problems or advocate any theories. It is meant to furnish English travellers in Italy with a book of portable size as a guide to Etruscan sites and Museums, and to satisfy the desire of those who, without entering deeply into archaeological studies, wish to be able to take an intelligent interest in the splendid collections of Etruscan antiquities which the Archaeological Museums of every capital in Europe now possess.

If I succeed in rousing the interest and stimulating the curiosity of those who have hitherto considered the subject as too dry to attract them, I shall be satisfied.

I do not aspire to rival George Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, merely to supplement that fascinating, but now in parts out-of-date, work.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Etruscans were long spoken of as a mysterious and unknown people of central Italy, who vanished from the scene before historic times and about whom nothing definite was known.

Scattered notices in Greek and Roman authors revealed their existence, a few shapeless ruins and broken potsherds were vaguely called Etruscan; and there investigation ended and history was dumb.

The strides made in archaeological research during the last hundred years have changed all this. Scientific methods of inquiry have been brought to bear on Etruscan, as on all other relics of ancient civilization, and the results have been full of interest and suggestion.

Mysterious the Etruscan nation may still be called, but unknown it certainly is not to-day. There is indeed a somewhat disconcerting discrepancy between the accuracy of our knowledge on some points of this strange people's life, and the poverty of our information on others.

For example, the origin and history of the nation called by the Romans *Tusci* or *Etrusci* is still largely conjectural and their language is unknown ; but, on the other hand, their religion and form of government, their arts, manners and customs are revealed to us with a vividness which is sometimes almost startling.

This incongruity, this tantalising will-o'-the-wisp-like quality in Etruscan study forms nevertheless one of its chief charms. Suggestive and provocative, it ever leads the enquirer forward, with the hope of solving one or other of the moot questions still blocking the way, and if one clue fails, hope is never blighted, while so much matter is constantly coming to hand.

Relentless enemies ruined the cities, wrecked the temples and crushed the people of Etruria, but, hidden under the piles of fallen masonry, lost in the thickets of wasted land, sunk in the swamps of devastated plains, their dead lay hidden in their forgotten graves until Time, the avenger, revealed their secrets and made them the silent witnesses of their country's ancient glory. The Etruscans' belief in a life after death has saved their country from complete oblivion.

In their tombs we find reproductions of everything which formed part of the daily life of the dead while living on earth. The arms of the warrior, the toilette necessities of the lady, the toys of the child, are all found in their tombs. Not only so, but the walls of

many of the mausoleums are frescoed with scenes representing the daily life of the occupants, and on the sarcophagus an effigy reposes, whose dress, ornaments and headgear are evidently closely copied from nature.

We can form an idea of the Etruscan type of countenance from these effigies, for though few of them rise to the dignity of works of art all convey a lively impression of excellent portraiture. Variety of expression, attention to family likeness and general distinctiveness and individuality stamp the best of these sepulchral figures.

The soil of central Italy is riddled with tombs, and by the examination and classification of their contents a mass of information is being put within our reach. We are thus enabled to form some idea of the elaborate civilization which the cumulative ravages of Gallic barbarians and Roman tyrants swept from the face of the earth.

Studying these records of the remote past, the vision of a fertile and beautiful country possessed by a cultured and artistic people materializes itself before our imagination, and we begin to realize the value and importance of the ruins, which Rome found ready and used as the foundations of its might.

New lights are shed on the fabulous narratives, repeated from generation to generation, about the primitive inhabitants of the city on the Tiber, and

a wider outlook is obtained over the early history of Italy, which the too exclusive point of view of Roman authors has narrowed and distorted. The study of Etruscan antiquity needs to be pursued with carefully balanced judgment, for it lends itself easily to wild and useless speculation; in the early days of awakened interest in the secrets of its past many unsubstantial theories were mooted, but the scientific spirit now governing archaeological research has corrected most of these. Patient research and painstaking classification is now the rule and is resulting in a mass of unassailable evidence, which, if it has not yet solved all doubtful problems, is on the right way to do so.

The excavations in Crete and at Mycenae are bringing to our knowledge much evidence bearing on the relation of Etruria and Etruscan civilization to prehellenic art and culture; every discovery made in these fields of archaeological research helps to bring us nearer to a comprehension of much that was formerly unintelligible in Etruscan history.

In Italy a great step forward was made about twenty-five years ago, when the site of Vetulonia, one of the most important of the Etruscan cities, was discovered. The results obtained from the excavations are priceless, for we have here a city in the heart of the richest and most thickly populated part of Etruria proper, whose remains belong to the most interesting period of the nation's existence. The tombs of

Vetulonia range from the earliest times to that during which native art and culture attained its fullest expansion, before the overpowering influence of Greek imported art had weakened the creative spirit of the people, and long before subjection to the military despotism of Rome had reduced them to degrading servitude.

The new material for the study of Etrurian culture which her vast cemeteries are yielding, wherever the necessary money is forthcoming for the expensive work of excavation, is now being in great part collected in local museums, where the special characteristics peculiar to each city can be profitably studied. Each cemetery has some distinguishing mark either in the construction of its tombs or the nature of their contents, and interesting conclusions can be drawn from the careful study and comparison of these peculiarities. This is a practice so favourable to archaeological study that it is to be hoped it will not go down before the centralizing mania which removes works of art from their original surroundings and scatters them broadcast in metropolitan museums, where their significance and importance is often partially or wholly lost.

The cities in whose neighbourhood the cemeteries lie have disappeared; some have crumbled into utter ruin, others are incorporated with and built over by modern towns, but the remains of their encircling

walls can still be traced, constructed, as they are, of that indestructible mortarless masonry which appears to-day as capable of resisting the fatal hand of time as it was when it was first put together two or three thousand years ago. We are aided to a certain extent in determining the internal arrangement of an Etruscan town by the fact that the cemeteries were in many cases made in imitation of a town, with streets, open squares, walls and gates, just as the tombs within them were copies of the houses inhabited by the living.

When our interest in the subject is awakened, we find that the task of discovering and identifying these waifs of a vanished world has been made possible, and even relatively easy, by the careful observations of generations of archaeological students. Certain broad general features are common to all Etruscan cities, and we cannot but admire the judgment with which their sites were chosen. So distinctive are these that Dennis, that valiant pioneer of research, was often guided to an Etruscan site, while riding through the marshy wastes of Maremma and the Campagna, solely by observing the natural features of the land. The chosen spots were of two descriptions. In the hilly country of Tuscany and Umbria the summit of an isolated hill was chosen, not so lofty as to be inaccessible, but high and steep enough to be capable of being easily rendered im-

pregnable to the besieging engines of those days. The highest point was crowned by the Arx or Citadel, the houses were disposed round it, and a winding road excellently graded and paved led up the hill-side. Such were Volterra, Perugia, Fiesole and Orvieto, and such they are to-day though shrunk in size and importance.

The other type was that on the low ground of the Campagna, Maremma and valley of the Po.

Here the Etruscans chose a spur of high land jutting out into the plain, and, having made the advancing cliffs artificially steeper, put all their strength into the fortifications on the side unprotected by nature. Such were the situations of Veii, Vetulona, Caere, Norchia, Castel d' Asso and numberless others, but, less fortunate than their sisters the hill towns, they were suffered to fall into utter ruin and desolation when the Etruscan power was destroyed. The ruin of these towns was so complete that all through the Middle Ages they were utterly forgotten and even their sites were unknown. Veii, a town of such importance that its walls measured seven miles round, though only twelve miles from Rome, was only identified during the last century with Isola Farnese, a small hamlet of mean houses on the Campagna. It is on these sites that the discovery, which is the highest ambition of excavators, is oftenest made, that of a virgin or

hitherto unopened tomb. Those in the neighbourhood of living towns have usually been robbed of all their valuable contents long years ago.

At first it seems unaccountable how cities of such wealth and importance could have been swept from the face of the earth. True, the pages of Livy inform us how ruthlessly the Romans dealt with the towns of their defeated enemies. We read of the wholesale massacres of their inhabitants, of their chief citizens dragged to Rome and beaten to death in the Forum and similar horrors, but as the half-barbarous victors gradually absorbed the civilization of the vanquished, one would have expected Romanized towns to rise on the ruins, preserving the sites from oblivion, and in the case of the hill-towns that is what occurred. Why then were the cities on the plain abandoned to desolation? To explain this problem we must take into account the admirable system of drainage, by which the Etruscans rendered healthy and fertile regions which the scourge of malaria made uninhabitable while they were left undrained. The agrarian laws, which were part of the Etruscan religion, were admitted, even by their enemies, to be the most perfect the world had yet known. These laws fell into disuse with the overthrow of the Etruscan government, and the Romans put nothing of equal value in their place. The agricultural population of the plains, ruined by the

exactions of tax-gatherers and deprived of the support of laws framed for their especial benefit, were further enfeebled by malarial fevers. The land fell out of cultivation, and year by year the area of malarious swamp increased. This progressive waste went on all through Roman times. Remains of Roman villas are found scattered over Maremma, and we know the Campagna was studded with them, but passages in Latin authors tell us that already in the times of the first Emperors fever was creeping over the Campagna nearer and nearer to the city. When the hordes of barbarians broke over Italy, and Goths, Vandals, Huns and Lombards successively overran the land, they only achieved a downfall already prepared by the sapping of the vitality of the people. Long before Lucretius, in his great poem, had mourned the destruction of agriculture and the misery of the peasant, it only wanted the invasion of the barbarians to stamp out the dying embers of rustic prosperity. The words of Ferdinand Gregorovius may be applied to the conquest of Etruria. "Rome," he says, "with unparalleled military skill and no less unparalleled political genius, robbed and destroyed nations nobler than herself."

This may seem a hard saying, but all recent discoveries tend to show that for much that was admirable in Roman arts, customs and religion, she was indebted to Etruscans or Greeks, and she rewarded

them by wiping them from the face of the earth as far as lay in her power.

When we look back to the centuries when Rome was merely a trading port on the Tiber, occupied by outposts of the various Italic peoples, we find that on the further bank of the river lay the fertile plains and rich cities of a perfectly organized and cultured people. The overthrow of this nation is told in the pages of Livy and other Roman historians, but the Etruscan side of the picture is a blank. So far we have only the man's account of the hunting of the lion, the lion's defence has been suppressed.

That the luxurious habits which invariably result from a high state of civilization were partly the cause of the defeat of the armies of Etruria by those of Rome may be conjectured; but we know by comparison of dates that, until the disasters caused by Gallic invasion, the Etruscans were able to preserve their frontier towards the Tiber intact and to keep the rising power of Rome in check. It was after the invasion of her northern province, and when the armies of the confederation were continually being employed in driving back the Gauls who swarmed in over the Alps, that the cities of the Campagna fell and the gradual conquest of Etruria proper commenced.

PART I—OLD ETRURIA

CHAPTER I

SKETCH OF ORIGINS

THE moment has not yet come to unravel the mystery of the origin of the Etruscan nation. That the civilization which we call Etruscan is associated with a people far in advance of the other tribes inhabiting the Italic peninsula and that their culture has definite and distinctive peculiarities is indisputable. But the work of tracing all the various affinities and characteristics to their fountain head is a weighty task, as yet only in the initial stages of its development. We can, however, indicate the main lines on which investigation is being pursued and follow as far as has been yet traced the path along which scholars and archaeologists are leading the way.

The Etruscan League or Confederation formed a

state which occupied at one time nearly the whole of Italy. Livy in his fifth book states that their influence extended from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean and northward to the foot of the Alps. The central district, which corresponds more or less to modern Tuscany and Umbria, was called Etruria proper, the provinces to the north and south, Etruria Circumpadana and Etruria Campaniana. There were twelve principal cities in each division, these cities were self-governing and elected their own Lucumon or Governor, but were joined in a defensive confederation to which the name of the Etruscan League was given.

When the inhabitants of Etruria first appear in history they had already attained a high state of civilization, which apparently had developed peaceably during many previous centuries.

A social life so complicated, a culture so refined and full of varied activity, could not have sprung into existence all at once, and we search with ever-growing interest among the vestiges of past ages for roots of the prosperity and artistic genius of the nation.

Their history, in common with that of all nations in their earliest years, consists at first of legends, among which germs of fact are hidden by an after-growth of fiction and misrepresentation.

The legendary lore of the Etruscans is rendered

the more obscure and difficult of elucidation through being handed down to us in the writings of Greek and Roman historians. Had the Etruscan language not perished, we should be in a much better position, for we should possess at any rate a portion of their records related by themselves, instead of having to depend on careless and, in some cases, hostile witnesses.

Nevertheless, as many of the later Latin writers, though citizens of Rome, dwelt in what was once Etruria, and were by race Etruscan, even when they forgot or disdained their extraction, much may be gathered from scraps of information scattered throughout their works; and these, corrected and tested by the scientific methods of the modern archaeologist, form a basis on which true conceptions of old Etruria can be founded.

We must always remember that ancient writers had a way of taking for granted that Greeks and Romans were the earliest civilized nations of Europe and ignored that vast prehellenic culture, the evidences of which are being brought to light in the excavations of Crete, Mycenae, Cyprus and elsewhere. Our present knowledge points towards the conclusion that a permeation of the various tribes inhabiting Italy was effected by a civilizing power, which grouped them into the confederation, known to us through Latin authors as the Etruscan League.

Numerous are the signs in the remains of Etruscan cities and cemeteries of a primitive people, existing for a long space side by side with a more cultured one, and preserving their own customs, which gradually became merged in those of the higher race. This is not the case where a bloody conquest has taken place, during which the original inhabitants are massacred or driven out. In this latter event it takes long centuries for the remnants of the conquered people to reassert themselves, if they ever succeed in doing so; their industries, their customs, and their arts are all stamped out and a new departure is made by the conquering race.

Writing about the cemeteries of Vetulonia in Maremma, where there is a perfect series of tombs from the early forms to those characteristic of the first period of acknowledged Etruscan culture, Professor Luigi Milani, head of the archaeological museum in Florence, says:—

“The greater part of these tombs are contemporary. The one type belongs to the earlier Keltic inhabitants living together and already fused with the Etruscans, the other are those of the patrician Etruscan race, proto-Greek and of Mediterranean and Aegean origin.”

It is worthy of note that the subjects of the reliefs and paintings of the Etruscans are chiefly of a peaceful character. There are few of the battle

scenes, processions of enslaved populations, massacres or punishments of the vanquished which abound in Babylonia or other Asiatic peoples' sculptures. All the indications that we can extract from Etruscan art point to the gradual assumption of power by an already civilized race, who, first fortifying themselves in cities, which they founded after careful examination on sites chosen with rare and experienced judgment, spread their beneficent influence over the agricultural population and gathered them into a confederation for mutual defence, which became the famous Etruscan League. The Theocratic system which they established was doubtless the best suited to a primitive people, always easily impressed by sentiments of superstitious awe. In an early state of civilization a subject people must be either frightened into submission by massacre and cruelty or awed by supernatural pretensions. Of the former I see no trace in Etruscan tradition, but the latter held the whole nation in thrall.

Before going further I will briefly summarize the opinions held by Greek and Latin authors with regard to this people and mention the sources from which they drew their information, such as it was. The names by which the Etruscans were known in classical times were various. The Greeks called them Turreni or Tirseni, the Umbrians Tursci, the Romans Tusci or Etrusci, but we have it on the authority of several

Halicarnassus, who objects that Lydians of his day (about 29 B.C.) had nothing in common with the Etruscans either in customs, religion or language, and that Xanthus, the Lydian historian, mentions no such famine or migration. Dionysius himself dedicated one book of his "Roman antiquities" to the Etruscans, but this book has been lost, so we do not know whether he had any theory to oppose to that of Herodotus. Meanwhile there are one or two remarks to be made on the legend as it stands. There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that a colony from Asia Minor settled in Italy in very early times, but the date of this migration, if it took place, is as yet impossible to fix. We learn from inscriptions found at Karnak that great emigrations of "people of the sea" took place in the reigns of Seti I, Memphtah I and Rameses III; that is, according to the chronology accepted by many Egyptologists, between the sixteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.

At this period of movement and unrest the expedition from Smyrna, mentioned by Herodotus, may have taken place. A reason for the exodus may perhaps be found in the conquest of Lydia by the Khatti or Kheta, a tribe of Hittites, a fierce and bloodthirsty people. Dr Messersmith places their migration from Cappadocia about the fifteenth century B.C. (all these dates are, however, doubtful), and they doubtless drove out or massacred

the original inhabitants. The fact, noticed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that the Lydians of his day were so different from the Etruscans would thus be accounted for. Until, however, researches in Asia Minor have put us in possession of much more information about these early inhabitants, we can only give this suggestion as one for the adoption of which further evidence is required.

The assertion of Herodotus that the expedition was led by a prince of the name of Tyrrhenus, from whom the people took their name, is obviously one of those explanations formed from preconceived notions, which are false. The Greeks were apt to conclude that the names of people were taken from some early legendary hero or king. In the tragedy of *The Suppliants*, Aeschylus makes the King say:—

“I am named Pelasgus and bear rule over this land
Whence, rightly named from me the sovereign,
Pelasgian are they named.”

On account of the Umbrian form of their name, Tursci, some writers have connected them with the Turshi or Turashi who made trouble in Egypt about 1234 B.C.

The links between early Etruscan culture and Egyptian can, however, be accounted for otherwise, as we shall see later.

Among writers of classical times who wrote about

Etruria and gave their views on Etruscan legend and history were Varro, Livy, Diodorus, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Strabo, Pliny the elder, and Tacitus, but unfortunately an adverse fate has pursued books dealing fully with the subject.

Whenever an author has dedicated an entire book to descriptions of Etruria and its people, that book has perished, and all that is left to us are some fragments quoted by other writers.

The most serious loss thus sustained is probably that of the history of Etruria by the Emperor Claudius. He knew the Etruscan language, and had been initiated by the priests into the "secret discipline" of the Etruscan religion. He also employed a number of scribes and investigators, and the work consisted of twenty books. Probably, had it survived, most of the problems over which we puzzle ourselves, not only in Etruscan, but early Roman history, would be solved. It is supposed to have perished when the libraries on the Palatine were burnt. The general sense of all the scattered references leads to the belief, held without serious contradiction until the beginning of the nineteenth century, that the people whom we call Etruscan came from the East about 1000 years B.C., or perhaps earlier, and starting from settlements in Central Italy, in the part afterwards known as Etruria proper (the modern Tuscany), extended their do-

minion over the greater part of Italy. They had arrived at the highest point in their civilization and power in the fourth century B.C., and by that time the earlier culture had completely blended and become identical with their own.

This theory began to be questioned by writers in the early and middle part of the nineteenth century. Niebuhr, Helbig and Mommsen upheld the opinion that the Etruscans entered Italy from the north. Vestiges found in the Rhaetian Alps gave colour to this view, and an Etruscan inscription found at Bos-in-Trent told of the presence in Tyrol of Etruscan influences. As most of the remains were of somewhat rude workmanship it was assumed that they were of an earlier period than that of the Etruscan relics in Central Italy. Helbig, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, held that the great cemeteries at and near Bologna bore out, by their contents, the theory that Etruscan civilization originated north of the Apennines. The result of the excavations at Vetulonia and other places in the heart of Etruria proper has, however, weakened the force of these deductions; the art of the objects found in the tombs on these sites, and the forms of the tombs themselves, being similar to those at Bologna. The remains in the Rhaetian Alps, from which Niebuhr chiefly drew his conclusions, are now generally regarded as attributable to Etruscan fugitives, escaping from the Gallic

invaders. When these conquering hosts descended into the valley of the Po, such of the inhabitants as escaped massacre fled into the mountains; some, no doubt, took refuge in the Apennines, but those whose dwellings were near the foot of the Rhaetian Alps would seek safety in their high valleys, where the barbarians would not think it worth while to pursue them. Thus separated from their nation, cut off from all sources of art and culture, they would deteriorate and their craftsmanship decay. The rudeness of the objects found in these parts may thus be explained as the result, not of primitive workmanship, but rather of a decadence brought about by those causes.

The vast learning which Niebuhr brought to bear on this and all other questions relating to Etruscan history, entitles his views to great respect, but at the period at which he wrote he had not before him much of the evidence which recent excavations have revealed to us. Nevertheless, even with his more limited means, he was too close and acute an observer to fail to notice and give their due value to the traces of pre-Etruscan civilization which have complicated the question of Etruscan origins. His opinion, that much which has been called Etruscan may be attributed to a people whom he calls Pelasgian, has an undoubted foundation of truth. Though the existence of such a nation is doubted by some

writers, the evidences of early culture, by whomsoever introduced, receives more and more confirmation from recent discoveries. The archaic art, which was the outcome of that early culture, and traces of which are found both in the early tombs of Vetulonia and Bologna, blends and merges into the definitely Etruscan, by such gradual and indefinable degrees, that it needs highly specialized insight to distinguish where the one ends and the other begins, or—it would be more correct to say—which influence was the stronger at a given time, for there is nothing so abrupt as an ending or beginning, to be observed anywhere. Intensely interesting as are the vestiges of the earliest culture, they cannot be allowed to take up too much room in a work dedicated to Etruscan remains; but a general idea of their importance is necessary, for without giving due importance to them no clear comprehension of things Etruscan can be formed. That the prehellenic culture, whose remains are turning up in such quantities in Crete, Cyprus and the mainland of Greece, is closely allied to, if not identical with, pre-Etruscan civilization in Italy, is now absolutely certain. The symbols of their religion, the technique of their metal work, the similarity of their customs, all point one way; and much that in earlier times was attributed to external influence, through trading intercourse, is now shown to have a deeper root. When we come

to study the mysterious religion, hidden in the shrines and temples of Etruria, the exquisite jewellery and the bronze and terra-cotta work found in their tombs, we shall be able to form more definite ideas of the extent and significance of their culture. A culture which had its roots in the very dawn of European civilization and blended with that which we call Etruscan.

In his book on the discoveries of Crete, p. 125, Mr Ronald Burrows says:—"Do Egypt, Knossos, Lemnos, Clusium, form a chain that takes us to the origin of that most mysterious of all peoples, the Etruscans? The tradition that they came from Asia Minor is as old as Herodotus, and the common element in Cilician name-formation Tarkum or Trokon—as it appears in Tarkumbrios or Trokondas—is strangely reminiscent of the House of Tarquin."

It is still more close in form to the Etruscan name *Tarchne*, of which Tarquin is only the Latin equivalent.

Mr Burrows continues:—"Was their settlement in Italy part of the general movement of the 'peoples of the sea,' that accompanied the break up of the Aegean civilization? And are the matched boxers on the Monkey tomb of Clusium and on the zoned vases of Bologna and South Austria not merely a reminiscence of Cretan work that has come up by trade routes but a survival from a common tradition?

How nearly the Etruscans were akin in race or language to the Aegean peoples that seem to have settled on the East Italian coast in Late Minoan III we cannot tell, but the head of the Adriatic may have been affected by both influences."

The theory of a descent from the north has been recently revived by some archaeologists, who have again called in question the remains of the Villanuvian civilization. The name of Villanuova is that of the estate of Count Gozzadini, where the important finds were made which Helbig quotes in support of his opinion on the northern origin of the Etruscans. The objects found differ substantially from those in the terramare or kitchen-midden heaps, under the villages built on piles, of the primitive inhabitants of Lombardy and the valley of the Po. The Villanuvians were more civilized and have affinities with Etruscan culture in their religious symbols, their pottery and metal work. Modestow concludes them to have been Umbrians, who afterwards descended to Umbria and settled there, where they were found by the Etruscans on their arrival in Italy. The resemblance between the two peoples and the fact that the Umbrians are alluded to by the Romans as allies rather than subjects of the Etruscans makes it possible there was kinship between them from the first. In the "Introduction to the history of Rome" Modestow gives reasons for believing that the in-

habitants of the pile-villages or *terramare* who moved southwards in prehistoric times, leaving the mountainous district of Umbria on the east, down the valley of the Tiber and arriving near its mouth, were the progenitors of the Romans. The roughness and rudeness of this early people, shown by their implements and by the dirty and unwholesome habits of which the pile-villages are the evidence, living as the inhabitants did over rubbish heaps of the foulest description, would keep them apart from the more polished and cultivated Umbrians and Etruscans and make the foundation of those rough virtues of which we hear so much in the early history of the Roman republic. Whether this view is true or not, it leaves the question of Etruscan origins untouched. Were the Etruscans and Umbrians one people or two, and if two how explain many of their affinities, which seem to lie deeper than mere political and social contact? Two explanations are offered, one is that the Etruscans or rather the initiators of the Etruscan culture and civilization were a numerically small Patrician race who ruled by virtue of their superior science over the subjugated native peoples, whom they found on their arrival in Italy. A ruling caste of priests and lawgivers, according to this supposition, organized the League, gave *Lucumons* to the cities and bestowed on the aborigines their language, laws and religion. This band of immigrants is supposed

to have come by sea from the east, round the southern coast of Italy, and their first settlements to have been on the borders of Maremma at Caere, Tarquinii or Vetulonia. There are many arguments both for and against this solution. It is favoured by Professor Patroni, an eminent Italian archaeologist, in some of his writings. It explains a definite Oriental influence which comes into Etruscan art and culture and overlays the earlier manifestations of an already advanced civilization, without destroying or seriously interfering with that civilization. It has not however convinced the partizans of the northern derivation, nor those who see in the Umbrians and inhabitants of Campania ancestors of the Etruscans rather than separate peoples. A theory has been broached which advocates the view that there were three successive Etruscan immigrations. One arriving by land from the north, another by sea settling on the east coast and a third landing on the west or Mediterranean sea-board. This solves some problems, but it does not touch others: it admits a unity of race for the inhabitants, while explaining inequality of culture and divergencies caused by some long division and wandering, which ended in all the branches of the Etruscan stock reaching a common home at last. The Umbrians (according to this theory) would probably represent the earliest batch of immigrants arriving round the

head of the Adriatic and establishing themselves in the north-east of Italy; the other immigrants would reach their destination later and their exotic affinities be more pronounced. These affinities of craftsmanship and religion again open vistas into the remote past of Asia and Africa. The Egyptian rigidity of the early art, the Chaldaic symbols in the early tombs, the rock-hewn façades sculptured in the living rock, the domed tombs, the technique of jewellery and bronze work, and the religious and funereal rites, all furnish their quota of material for the study of the race, justly called by Modestow "the most mysterious of all peoples." The extent to which Professor Sergi's theory of a Mediterranean race may help towards a solution of the problem has yet to be proved; so far it has hardly been seriously investigated. He professes to find, by measurement and comparison of the skulls of the early inhabitants and of their descendants, evidence of a primitive African race, which peopled all the coasts of the Mediterranean and formed the basis of their population, mixing with other races but never becoming entirely overwhelmed. He attributes to this race a powerful vitality causing it to assert itself again and again after temporary eclipse by other races. Its chief characteristic, besides extraordinary vitality, is strong artistic instinct, which led it to perfection of artistic design and technique at a very early period. It was the root element from which Egyptian, Cretan, Iberian

and Etruscan spring and their affinities are thus explained by fundamental race peculiarities rather than by external superficial contact. The scientific value of Professor Sergi's researches can only be properly appreciated by experts, but the conclusions which follow, if they are proved to be correct, are intensely interesting and most important for the elucidation of Etruscan problems.

When we are able to read the multitude of inscriptions found in the cemeteries of Etruria a mine of information will be opened to us, but so far no Young or Champollion has been found to decipher them. This is the more tantalizing as the language, the laws, and the form of government, are the three great factors which sharply define the Etruscan national culture and cut it off from the surrounding people of the Mediterranean basin. In the symbols of their religion, the technique of their art and in many of their customs, links more or less close may be found with Greeks, Egyptians, Phoenicians and Umbrians, but the Etruscan language stands alone and their laws are distinctive and peculiar. Up to the present time no inscriptions in the Etruscan language have been found outside the sphere of Etruscan influence. The inscription at Bos-in-Trent may be ascribed, along with the other traces in the Tyrol, to the Etruscans who were chased from the valley of the Po by the Gauls.

It was thanks to a well-knit system of government, a fixed code of laws and a written language, that the Etruscans were enabled to take a place in Italy, so far in advance of any of the surrounding tribes, gradually to establish their supremacy over them and to develop a culture, the completeness of which is a perpetual cause of surprise and admiration to all who take the trouble to observe it attentively.

This civilization dominated Italy during a period which is generally estimated to have lasted from a thousand to twelve hundred years. The Etruscans were masters not only of the land but of the sea bordering their shores. They are spoken of by Greek and Latin writers as daring pirates, and poets sang of them as rulers of the sea in the time of the Argonauts. The small islands on the Tuscan coast belonged to them, they made settlements in Corsica and Sardinia and contested the possession of Sicily with the Phoenicians and Greeks.

The period of Etruscan history, for which we have documentary evidence in any quantity, begins when the rising power of Rome came into collision with the long established dominion of the League. Unfortunately, in the earlier part of this contest, fact is so blended with fiction as to discourage the most zealous searcher after truth. Religious sentiment and patriotic pride led the Roman historians to

record all sorts of fables side by side with the narrative of real events, leaving the task of disentangling the one from the other to the reader. Dr Owgan, in his preface to Livy, says it is easy to distinguish the elements of a really historical nature, such as statements about laws and other political institutions, from those of a merely poetical origin, but he goes on to say that independently of this it is possible to detect a political and patriotic bias. It is just this bias which is so frequent and is so disconcerting to meet in the history of the relations between Rome and Etruria, leading as it does to a network of contradiction almost impossible to disentangle.

Some authors have endeavoured to prove that Rome was originally an Etruscan city; this was when the Etruscan was regarded as the earliest civilization of Italy.

Fergusson in his history of architecture writes: "During the first two and a half centuries of her existence Rome was probably virtually an Etruscan city, wholly under Etruscan influence, and during that period we read of temples and palaces being built and of works of great magnitude being undertaken for the embellishment of the city; and we have now more remains of kingly than of consular Rome. After expelling her Kings and shaking off Etruscan influence she existed as a republic for five

hundred years, and during this long age of barbarism literature was almost unknown and not one monument has come down to our time, even by tradition, worthy of a city of her power and magnitude."

Fergusson writes, of course, from the point of view of the architect, and with regard to her architecture and engineering works he was possibly correct.

Vitruvius observes that the ancient sewers did not follow the course of the streets in his time, which would appear to be caused by the city having been rebuilt on a different plan after the burning by the Gauls. If then the early town was drained thus with vaulted sewers, portions of which have endured to our own times, who but the Etruscans could have been the engineers? None of the other early tribes had the necessary skill; while in all the ruins of the Etruscan cities an elaborate system of drainage can be traced.

The most reasonable conclusion that we can draw in the present state of our knowledge seems to be that after Rome's foundation as, possibly, a trading outpost on the Tiber for the various neighbouring tribes, a period of Etruscan influence set in, figured in early Roman history by the reigns of the Tarquins and Servius Tullius, during which most of the great architectural works of the earliest date, whose remains have endured to our own times, were executed.

There must have been a very persistent tradition of this early Etruscan influence on Rome to account for the fabulous narrative of Romulus marking out the site of his city with Etruscan ceremonies and consulting the augurs in the Etruscan manner. Only a deeply rooted and widely diffused tradition, impossible to ignore, would have induced writers whose patriotism was of so aggressive a type as that of Roman historians to admit that they owed anything to their defeated and despised enemies.

These Etruscan rulers were probably Lucumons or Governors, such as governed every Etruscan city. The family tomb of the Tarquins is at Caere where the name either in the Etruscan form [Tarchne] or the Latin Tarquin is repeated again and again. With regard to the Etruscan extraction of Servius Tullius some curious evidence has come to light. This King was, according to Roman history, the son of a slave, born and brought up in the palace of Tarquinius Priscus whom he succeeded. The truth of this legend was however contested by the Emperor Claudius in a speech delivered before the Senate in Rome and alluded to by Tacitus. The text of this speech which was in favour of giving certain rights to the inhabitants of Lyons was discovered in the seventeenth century; it is called the Lyons tablet and is in the museum of that town.

I have already mentioned that Claudius was

deeply steeped in Etruscan lore and here he states that Servius Tullius, sixth King of Rome, was not the son of a slave as was believed, but of an Etruscan lord named Mastarna; that he came to Rome with a friend called Celes Vibenna and settled on the Coelian Hill which was hence called the Hill of Celes. This example of Claudius' erudition has been very singularly confirmed by the discovery of a relief in a tomb at Vulci, in which a warrior whose name is written in Etruscan letters over him Macstrna is freeing a captive labelled in the same way Caile Vibinas. The legends of the Tarquins and Servius plainly indicate a struggle between the theocratic system of Etruscan rule and the growth of democratic institutions which ended in the driving out of Tarquinius Superbus and the establishment of a republic.

The gradual revolt of the descendant against the parent state is obscure and difficult to trace, for the same national pride which made Romans claim descent from gods and heroes and refuse to acknowledge any more probable ancestry, also led them to put back into the shadowy past institutions and customs which only came into existence when the development of the Roman state was already far advanced.

This independent and aggressive young Commonwealth found itself thus confronted by the ancient

state, whose territory marched with their newly acquired territories on all sides. A life and death struggle began, which only ended when Etruria ruined and desolate lay at the feet of her captors.

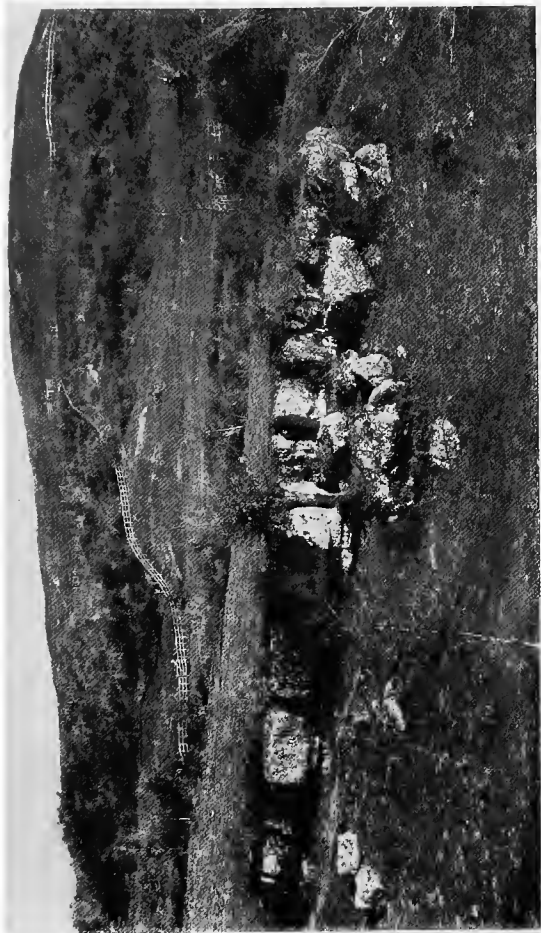
During the early years of the Republic the conflict waxed and waned; sometimes the Romans, sometimes the Etruscans, were victorious; on the whole, the boundary of the Tiber remained the dividing line between the two states. But Etruria was doomed. The attacks of the Gauls on her northern frontiers drew off her armies in that direction and the Greeks were preying on her seaboard. That she made heroic efforts to defend herself we cannot doubt, for ungenerous as the Romans were to their fallen foes, we can read between the lines of their boasting narratives the desperate struggle of their victims.

The defeat of the allied fleets of the Etruscans and Carthaginians in 474 B.C. by Hiero King of Syracuse was a severe blow to the naval supremacy of Etruria.

A period of storm and stress then set in. The Gauls on the north and the Romans on the south and east harried the unhappy country. We read in Livy how the inhabitants of Veii asked for help from the other cities to defend themselves from the attacks of Rome. Veii was situated only twelve miles from Rome, her walls were nine miles round

and she was a greater city than the Rome of that epoch, confined as it was within the walls of Servius. Nevertheless the hardy and warlike Romans raided her territory and continually menaced her peace and prosperity. The Etruscan confederation, recognizing the danger of losing the Tiber frontier, held, according to their custom when affairs vital to the welfare of the whole nation were to be discussed, a great conference at Voltumna, at which delegates from all the chief Etruscan cities were present. The upshot of the deliberations was that the danger of invasion from the Gauls was so imminent, that no troops could be spared from the north, but young men were to be allowed to volunteer to assist the Veientes. The story of the ten years' siege of Veii is obviously fabulous in many of its details, as told by Livy and other historians; but while not recounting the true history of the siege, it very probably tells us a number of incidents which took place during the years immediately preceding the invasion of the Gauls under Brennus. Up to that time the border war went on with varying fortune between Rome, Veii, Falerii, and other Etruscan towns on the Campagna.

According to Roman tradition, Veii was taken by Camillus in 396 B.C. and many of the smaller cities in the neighbourhood fell with it. The story is confused and mixed with incredible legends,



Masdoni, photo.

FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT WALL

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such as that of the Etruscan augur who foretold the reduction of Veii after the Alban Lake should be drained, and the dramatic entry of Camillus and his army at the moment when the sacrifice was being offered in the arx of Veii, all obviously of that type of traditional history which takes old half-mythical tales and fits them into the framework of real events. The bare facts, stripped of these embellishments, show us Rome overcoming its hard pressed adversary, and sacking and razing to the ground the magnificent city whose temples and palaces rose on the horizon and tempted her enemies with the hope of incalculable booty. After the sack, the inhabitants who escaped massacre were driven away or sold into slavery and the site of one of the finest and most prosperous cities of the Campagna was left desolate, its ruins crumbled away and were overgrown by brushwood and rank grass, so that its very site was lost and the only inhabited place in its neighbourhood is a mean village called Isola Farnese. Such was the dread and hatred of the conquerors for the conquered, that they forbade anyone in future to take up their abode within its walls. They then laid waste the country round so that neither fruit nor vegetable remained. Retribution, however, was not long in coming to the city which had dealt so cruelly with its rival, for with the shortsightedness of those who allow their passions to guide their

and trampled in the dust. The great political sagacity which aided the Roman armies so powerfully in their conquest of Europe was shown in the way they went to work in Etruria. The Etruscan League being a confederation of cities, each one managing its own affairs, uniting for common defence and dominating a tract of country which supplied it with the necessaries of existence, the obvious way to break up the nation was to ruin one by one the more powerful of these cities, to raze them to the ground, to forbid them to be rebuilt, to massacre the mass of the inhabitants and sell as slaves the survivors and then to plant a colony of Roman citizens on an adjoining site, which then became the Roman city, and to portion out the lands between these colonists and the great Patrician nobles in Rome. That this system eventually destroyed the agricultural prosperity of Italy did not affect the Romans, who were essentially a citizen people and who counted on their arms to provision their city from newly conquered lands. We have accounts of the taking by Rome of Veii, Tarquinii, Volsinii, Perugia, Volaterrae and others, which were dealt with in this manner, and reading them we comprehend the collapse and disappearance of the refined and cultured nation revealed by the remains in the tombs.

The new settlers with their ruder manners despised the artistic genius of the vanquished, the

great manufactories of metal and earthenware were ruined and only revived in later times to make tasteless imitations of Greek originals. Only those utilitarian crafts which could be worked by an enslaved proletariat were encouraged by the conquerors. The Etruscans continued to make roads, which have never been surpassed, for the Roman invader, and though the exquisite finish of the Etruscan architectural work was lost, yet the massive solidity, which causes the heavy Roman buildings to be admired by those to whom lightness and grace are not essential qualities in architecture, was the result of perfect technical skill subsisting after the inspiring influence of the native artist was lost. If this was the fate of the towns, that of the country was no less disastrous. The great absentee landlords cultivated their vast estates by slave labour. The consequence was what might have been expected. We have in the poem of Lucretius a picture of the ruined agriculturalist and of the fertile land going back to desert and swamp, and we have only to look at the map of Italy to see that wide tracts, now devastated by malaria, supported populations numbered by millions under Etruscan rule. This decay of the land continued and increased all through the middle ages and has been generally attributed to the depopulation and misery caused by the break-up of the Roman Empire, but we have reason to believe that it began during

Roman dominion after the conquest of Etruria. When the flower of the nation had perished, it is easy to understand how those who survived fell into degrading subjection. The masses became mere servile hirelings working for alien masters; those among the upper class who bowed their neck to the yoke and were allowed to retain a shadow of their former prosperity lived on in ignoble obscurity, deprived of political importance and having seen the centres of their artistic and intellectual life ruined and destroyed, they degenerated into those obese and lazy Etruscans spoken of with contempt by Roman writers.

No one who has observed the fine heads, resolute countenances and muscular, if thickset, figures of the Etruscans in the sculpture and paintings of their prime, can doubt that these sneering epithets were only applicable to those degenerate and servile descendants, whose heavy ungainly effigies on the later tombs show how complete was the decadence which subjection had brought about. When Rome, her struggle for existence as a separate nation over, and her constitution as a state consolidated, could allow her citizens the leisure needed for the cultivation of art and literature, the overwhelming influence of Greek thought and art wiped out even the memory of Etruscan culture. Henceforth it lay buried, only to be brought again to light after hundreds of years of oblivion.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION, LAWS AND LANGUAGE

WE have materials of various descriptions and unequal value for studying the religion of Etruria. In the religious symbols carved on the stone-work of the tombs, the statues of gods and goddesses, the reliefs of religious subjects, the fragments of friezes and pediments of temples, the votive offerings and objects of worship buried with the dead, there is a mass of material for comparative study capable of yielding certain and satisfying results. The very vastness of the quantity of these remains is, however, against speedy conclusions, and there still remain many points awaiting elucidation from the labour of scholars. Another source of information lies in the frequent allusions in Latin writers to the Etruscan religion and to the evidence which meets us continually of the identity of the early religion of Rome with that of Etruria.

The farther we go back the more resemblance is found in such fundamental beliefs as are shown in

the symbols of the earliest worship and the ceremonies whose allegorical significance takes us back to the very dawn of civilization. This kinship is apart from the subjects taken bodily from Greek mythology, carved on the late Etruscan tombs and indicating that predominant Greek influence which permeated late Etruscan and Imperial Roman art.

It has been repeated again and again by writers of all ages that the Romans derived their religion from the Etruscans; it would be truer to say that Romans and Etruscans derived a great part of their religion from a common source. During the early years of Rome the two cults were alike, and it was only when Rome politically broke with the old Etruscan traditions and doing away with aristocratic monopolies founded republican institutions, after the fall of the kings, that the religion took on new forms, though to the very end of paganism the relics of the ancient faith remained hidden in sacred groves and symbolized in ceremonies which had lost their original meaning and become mere senseless parades or licentious orgies. Mr Cyril Bailey in his book on the religion of Rome writes:

"It has been said that the old Roman religion was one of cult and ritual without dogmas or belief. This was not in origin strictly true."

Mr Bailey is quite correct, it was only in later times that such a description could be given of it,

when the faith, traditionally held to have been taught by Numa, became a mere superstition of the vulgar.

Frova writes in *Il Rinascimento*:

"The works treating of the conceptions after death of the ancients have neglected the Etruscans, jumping from the Greeks to the Romans without taking into account the very characteristic part in the evolutions in question taken by the Etruscans, while the Romans, being less original, took from both Greeks and Etruscans. This lacuna depends partly on the want of literary sources but they can well be supplied by artistic ones. Art is almost the only source for the study of the life and religion of the Etruscan civilization. Studying the conception of death and the after life in antique art, I find that the Etruscans differ profoundly from the Greeks while they approach the East."

The symbols of their religion were introduced into every work of art produced by the Etruscans, as is also the case with other nations and religions, but in later ages the symbols became so mixed and conventionalized that their significance is often lost.

In early Etruscan art we find the symbolic signs carved or painted, embossed or incised on stone, plaster, alabaster, terra-cotta, bronze, gold and silver, in fact on every material and on every object used either for worship, ornament or daily use. As art

developed, the scenes represented in relief and frescoes give many indications of Etruscan religious beliefs.

The most ancient faith, the symbols show us, was very similar to that of the pre-hellenic people, who built the palace at Knossos and the remains of whose art discovered of late years has so changed the direction of archaeological researches. The mundum or patera, a disk with raised centre, which is held in the hands of nearly all the male effigies on Etruscan tombs and which the bronze statue of an aruspex or sooth-sayer of Volterra also holds, is described by Professor Milani as the "most ancient symbol of the indivisible god, who contained within himself the germ of cosmic life, which is worshipped under this symbol in the Asiatic as well as in the Aegean religions." Nearly every Etruscan tomb contains this disk worked into the decoration of walls or sarcophagi, sometimes plain with merely the raised centre, often with rays like the sun, a cross, or writhing serpent-like figures covering its surface.

Another symbolical design which is frequently repeated on Etruscan reliefs is the altar or pillar between two rampant beasts, like that over the Lion gate at Mycenae.

At Bologna there is a carved relief of this description, in which the two animals resemble



RELIEF ON SARCOPHAGUS
Toscanelia

Mossioni, photo.

calves, and in other cases the pillar in the centre of the relief might be the trunk of a tree.

Professor Milani in his interesting account of pre-hellenic religion¹ connects these representations with the worship of Kybele (Cybele). He says "Rhea—Kybele was worshipped as the goddess of creative force—queen of the mountains and foundress of cities." It was of course under this latter invocation that her symbol would be placed over the Lion gate at Mycenae and possibly over one of the gates of Felsina, the Etruscan Bologna. The fact that the pine-tree was consecrated to Kybele and the cow her sacred animal, explains the calves and tree-trunk in her symbol. In a very ancient bronze found at Perugia the rampant beasts have a female figure between them. This symbol was not unknown in Egypt; in *Mycenaean tree and pillar cult*, Mr Arthur Evans says that "The scheme of a sacred pillar between heraldically opposed animals is very frequent about the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt, under the form of two snakes and a Tot pillar."

Other symbolic decorations connecting Etruscan with primitive religions are the fish, fylfot, palm, volute and lotus, all frequently found in the earlier tombs. The religious ideas which seem to have been common to the early inhabitants of Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, developed into various

¹ *Studi e Materiali di Archeologia.*

forms of Paganism, but through all the later mythologies we find, lurking in secluded temples and groves surrounded by mysterious rites, the worship of the elder gods. Their secret shrines were jealously guarded by priests who, by a system of sooth-saying, incantations and prophecies, captivated the imagination of the people, while they instructed their neophytes in some theosophical doctrines of which only very vague fragments have been handed down to our times. The "Secret discipline" of the Etruscans, into which boys were initiated by the priests, is frequently mentioned by Latin writers, and, long after the subjection of Etruria, Roman fathers sent their sons to receive initiation from Etruscan priests.

This initiation no doubt instructed the neophyte into the theology of which Varro speaks, when he says that besides that which is poetical and can be uttered in the theatres, there is another which treats of the nature of God and the universe and cannot be spoken of in public. Sinesius also says that the sages of Egypt amused the people with images in the vestibules of the temples, while they retired to the sanctuary and honoured with mystic dances certain coffers containing globes.

Whether the Romans derived their religion from Etruria or whether, as I have suggested, they already possessed its elements, derived from the same source,

from the earliest times, there can be no doubt that they looked to Etruria as their religious head and its priests as the hieratic chiefs of their worship. We have ample proof of this in the unanimous tradition that Rome was founded with Etruscan rites, and in the fact that all the ceremonies and insignia of authority were borrowed from Etruria. The matter-of-course way in which Livy and other historians relate the sending to Etruria for answers to portents from the Etruscan augurs, and the story of the flight of the Roman priests and vestal virgins to the Etruscan city of Caere even as late as the Gallic invasion, even if legendary, show the strength of the tradition.

The accounts of the enthronement of Numa, second of the legendary kings of Rome, relate that an augur conducted him to the Capitol, seated him on a stone with his face towards the south and then, standing at his left with veiled head, traced out the imaginary limits between east and west in which it was the custom to observe the signs of the heavens. Festus tells us, that even under the empire, the Etruscan ritual was followed when a town was to be founded, or a temple or altar consecrated. Thus we see that from the earliest to the latest times the Romans acknowledged the supremacy of the Etruscans in matters pertaining to religion.

There is evidence of an early centre of worship

in Umbria, and we know that this cult was not overthrown, but continued under Etruscan rule and was practised after the Roman conquest. The wonderful bronze tablets, called the Eugubine tables, which hang in the Palazzo del Pretorio at Gubbio, are the principal links we possess with this primeval cult. The tablets themselves are not of the highest antiquity; they are judged by M. Michel Bréal, who has written an interesting description of them, to belong to 200 B.C., a period when Latin was beginning to supersede Etruscan as the written language. He concludes this from the fact that the inscriptions engraved on two of the tables are in Latin characters, while the other five are in Etruscan. The language is neither Latin nor Etruscan, but is supposed to be the ancient Umbrian. There are seven tables measuring about 50 centimetres in length and 30 in breadth. Five of them are closely engraved all over on both sides, the remaining two have inscriptions only on one side. They are quite the most curious relics of antiquity I have ever beheld. They were discovered in the year 1444, in an underground chamber adorned by mosaics, in a vineyard close to the ruins of the Umbro-Roman theatre at Gubbio. So far as they have been deciphered, they consist of the rules of a college of priests, the *Frater Attiediur*, and the substance of a great part consists of exact directions for the service

of a god, whose name, Jove Grabovius, is repeated again and again. M. Bréal connects this priestly college with that of the *Fratres Arvales* of Rome, who were vowed to the service of the *Dia-Dea*, one of the primitive deities of Rome. The temple of Jove Apennino is near Gubbio, but does not appear to have been connected with the temple of Jove Grabovius, which was on Monte Iguvius, on whose flank Gubbio is built.

The Umbrians were brought under Etruscan rule in the earliest times, and always appear rather as the allies than the subjects of Etruria. They retained a certain independence and, as we see by the Eugubine tables, continued to use their own language, while employing the Etruscan written character. It is possible that they learnt the art of writing from the Etruscans.

Following the period when religious ideas were represented only by symbols, we find some curious representations of a mixed character, partly anthropomorphic, partly symbolic. Among these, may be reckoned a strange relief reproduced by Inghirami in his book on Etruscan monuments¹. Here a figure with veiled head is seated between two fishes. The veiled figure corresponds to the *shrouded gods*, seated figures with their heads swathed in drapery, who are found on many archaic monuments, and who belong

¹ Vol. I. p. 375, Plate XLVII.

to those primitive deities whose worship was hidden from the intrusion of the profane by secret and mysterious rites.

Another primitive deity was the two-faced god called by the Romans Janus. His temple was on the Etruscan side of the Tiber, on the hill which takes its name from him. Passeri is of opinion that this Janus is not the legendary god, who according to the vulgar opinion came to Italy with Saturn, but a great primitive deity, greater than Jove.

Janus and Apollo are often confused in a manner which suggests that both belonged to the symbolic period and were allegorical impersonations of the Sun.

Macrobius states that Janus was represented with the number 300 in one hand and that of 65 in the other, alluding to the days of the solar year.

Milani follows out this idea in his description of the symbolic figures on the little bronze ship found in the Tomba del Duca at Vetulonia.

The reproach cast by many writers against the Etruscan religion, that it was a gloomy collection of superstitions, seems singularly at variance with the gay and kindly nature of their art and the impression of a peaceful and prosperous social life, revealed by all existing remains. It appears more correct to assert that, while in common with all pagan religions there was a foundation of occult science, and sur-

viving rites of a weird nature, the Etruscans tempered the awe inspired by the mystery of primeval cults with a mass of graceful and humanizing fancies.

The scenes of festivity, of family and rural life, the flowers, birds and little gambolling animals, which adorn the walls of so many Etruscan tombs, speak of conceptions regarding death and the life after death which are anything but gloomy and frightful. The belief in an after life was certainly as strong in the Etruscans as in any nation of antiquity. That they also held some doctrine of future rewards and punishments seems apparent from the processions of Souls accompanied by attendant genii, of whom some are benevolent, assisting the departing soul in its passage from life to death with consoling gestures, while others are truculent monsters, menacing or striving to drag it away. The idea of death as the setting forth on a journey is very common. On an urn at Volterra a figure wrapped in a cloak, which covers his head and mouth, departs preceded by Charun and followed by a servant who carries a sack on his back. A relief from Bomarzo shows the deceased on horseback also wrapped in his cloak and playing on a musical instrument; Charun precedes him with his hammer and a woman follows carrying a box. On an urn at Florence a horseman takes leave of a man beside him, while another figure waits for him by a gate.

In other reliefs a group of friends or relations take leave of the departing horseman, and sometimes a woman throws herself before the horse or tries to catch the bridle as if she would arrest the departure. On one of the urns from Volterra a dying man lies on his bed, from which a woman runs with agitated gestures and outside a servant waits with a horse. Sometimes the horse is exchanged for a dolphin or a marine monster of some sort, and the dying man rides off on this steed. In a painting in a tomb near Orvieto a youth in a white cloak stands in a chariot holding the reins and a female figure with wings and the name Vanth written against her stands beside the horse, as if to attend the traveller on his way. In all the representations of processions, where the departing soul is attended by genii or demons, Charun appears as a hideous figure armed with a mallet, evidently representing the ugly and terrifying idea of death. He is not merely the boatman, the Chara of the Greeks; the Etruscans with their love of vivid portraiture give him the hammer with which to strike the fatal blow and the terrible aspect which death, at the fatal moment, presents even to the bravest and best prepared. In addition to Charun two, or sometimes more, beings seem to contest the possession of the soul. Hideous creatures with beaks and claws hover round and even occasionally try to tear the soul from winged figures



INTERIOR OF TOMB
Cervetri

Mossioni, photo.

of beneficent aspect, who with encouraging gestures seem to help the traveller on his way. The good genii are labelled Vanth and seem to fill the office of the guardian angels of Christian art. In descriptions of reliefs and frescoes, Charun is often alluded to as one of the bad genii or demons, but looking carefully at the representations and comparing them, it would appear that he is merely the conventional representation of death and as such accompanies the funeral procession, but takes no hand in either tormenting or encouraging the victims. There is also a figure with a torch, which he sometimes holds reversed, who is not either a demon or an angel, but seems merely to symbolize the extinction of life. He accompanies but does not supplant Charun and sometimes has two faces, one looking each way.

Taking into consideration the custom of burying with the deceased all the objects which he was accustomed to use in life, we are led to suppose that the Etruscans may have held the belief that the material body of man, living on in a mystic spiritualized essence, would be able to enjoy all material things transmuted in the same way.

Here Marco Polo offers us a suggestion linking such a belief with the strange superstitions of the interior of Asia. He tells us that a people, who preserved what he calls the most ancient religion, refused to eat fresh fruit or vegetables, believing

that until they were dead and dry they had sensation. From this to a belief in the essential similarity of all material bodies, whether animal or vegetable, does not seem a long step. The accusation that the Etruscans offered human sacrifices to the gods does not appear justified. The reliefs and paintings which have been supposed to represent it may as well refer to mythical legends as to rites still practised. The accounts in Latin authors do not agree very well one with another, and most of the contemptuous notices of Etruscan belief date from a time when all faith in the gods was waning and religion regarded as a superstition of the vulgar. As an example of the want of concordance between accounts of the sacerdotal system, we read in Livy that the priests preceded the Etruscan armies in battle, crowned with serpents, shrieking with mad gestures. Dionysius on the contrary asserts that the priests indeed walked first, but carrying the terms of peace and offering their services as intermediaries for the prevention of hostilities.

When we turn to the Etruscan mythology, as it developed from primitive sources, we find a great number of gods and goddesses many of them identical in their attributes with those of Greece and Rome.

The Etruscan Pantheon possesses three great gods and goddesses who, under the names of Tina or Tinia, Thalna or Cupra and Menrva, are generally supposed

to answer to the Roman deities Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.

All Etruscan temples ended in three divisions or cellae, in each of which a statue of one of these deities was adored. How far the Etruscan conception of their gods tallied with those attributed to them by the Romans we cannot know, but as I have already suggested the Etruscan belief appears to represent the early Roman ideals before the materialistic conceptions of declining faith undermined the popular religion.

Tina, like Jove, is the thunderer, the head and controller of those electrical phenomena which formed so large a part of the secret wisdom of the priests.

He has nothing in common with the irresponsible person whose caprices and infidelities were the theme of Greek and Latin poets' verse and the amusement of their readers. He looms through the mists of ages, a great primeval power, controlling the forces of nature which he looses on mankind or holds in check according to his will. Seneca tells us of the three kinds of thunderbolts wielded by Jove. The first was entirely under his own control and he threw it according to his own will and pleasure. The second, more powerful and fatal to mankind, he only wielded after consultation with the twelve councillor gods; but the last and mightiest of his weapons he was not

able to hurl until he had obtained the consent of those mysterious figures, the shrouded gods, who from the depths of their hidden retreats, their features for ever veiled from human eyes, were the supreme and ultimate arbiters of the destinies of men. The twelve councillors¹, whose consent was necessary before the second class of thunderbolts could be thrown, were a sort of celestial parliament of which six members were female and six male.

Though Tina is generally quoted as the chief god of the Etruscans, his position is not quite clearly defined and he has various rivals. One of these is the god Vertumnus, who was sometimes called the Etruscan Bacchus (Phuphlano), and was the god of wine and gardens; but his cult had probably an esoteric significance, which was unknown to such writers as mention him only as the jolly god of wine. We are also told of a great goddess Voltumna or Vertumna whose shrine was near Velznas (Orvieto), and was the site of the great congresses of the Etruscan League. Vertumnus and Vertumna were probably male and female incarnations of one deity, confused by later writers. On the whole the attributions given by Latin authors are unsatisfactory, as they wrote at a time when paganism was degenerate and had lost its grip of the primitive truths which seem to have been the common heritage of the great

¹ *Varro de Re. Rust.* i. 1.

religions of antiquity. At this period the fancies of the poets amused the upper classes, while the ignorant masses were sunk in gross superstitions. If the priests still possessed any fragments of primitive lore, they carefully concealed it from the bulk of mankind.

The sites of the temples in an Etruscan city were fixed, Vitruvius states, by the laws of ritual and had reference to the attributes of the gods to whom they were dedicated. Those of Venus, Vulcan and Mars were placed outside the city walls in order that the first should not contaminate the matrons and youths with the passion of lust, that the second should not endanger the city by fire, and the third not encourage frays among the citizens. Ceres also had her shrine outside the city in a solitary spot, where she could be revered with awe and solemnity. The temple of Mercury was on the contrary in the forum.

When an Etruscan city was founded, the confines were traced with a ploughshare, and three unploughed spaces were left where the gates were to be, for the ritual number of gates was three, while in the large cities more were often made but never less than three. On the highest spot within the area thus traced out another enclosure was made, where the arx or citadel was built and also the temples of gods whose sanctuaries might be within the city. The rites and ceremonies used in founding a city were in part adopted by the Romans and described by their

authors. Varro gives the words used in consecrating the temples of the gods:

"My temples and sacred places shall extend as far as I declare right according to the divine law. This old tree shall mark the left hand limit, that the right," and so on.

It was necessary that from this point the four quarters of the heavens should be visible, for when about to prophecy the aruspex first traced an imaginary enclosure in the sky, within which the omens were to be produced, and in order to do this he took his stand on the highest part of the arx, from which he could command the whole horizon.

In those Tuscan hill-towns, which were once Etruscan, we can easily recognize this arx, now either crowned by an old convent or made into a citadel and called the Rocca.

The custom of making votive offerings to the gods was one as dear to the Etruscans as to the Italian peasant of to-day. Accumulations of small bronze figures are found near all Etruscan sites, and fragments of masonry or sculpture show that some temple to god or goddess, or sacred well, to whose healing waters the people resorted, once existed there. There is indeed no need to use the past tense in some cases, for no doubt many Christian shrines rose on the site of a sacred place of the old religion.

These little bronze or terra-cotta images are to be seen by hundreds in every Etruscan museum. They are generally of archaic forms as if there was a traditional model for objects of this kind. They are in the form of little men, women and children according presumably to the sex and age of the offerer, and in the case of the healing wells the disease of the sufferer is often represented by some malformation of the little figure.

One of the largest finds of these offerings was made on Monte Falterona, a peak of the Apennines about 30 miles above Florence. There is a small lake high up on the mountain and this ran dry in a particularly fine season many years ago; a strange discovery was then made, for in its bottom were found a vast number of little bronze figures. These attracted the attention of the antiquarians of the time and many theories were mooted to account for their being found in such a place, and the conclusion was arrived at that it must have been a place of pilgrimage in pagan times, though all signs of such a shrine or temple near the lake have disappeared. A singular fact was, that among the bronze images and under the greater part of them were found a number of uprooted trees, the roots upwards, preserved by some quality in the water. This led to the supposition that a landslip had occurred in some long past age, which had carried a sacred grove to

the bottom of the lake and along with it all the offerings.

Sacred and mystic numbers played a great part in the science or secret doctrine of the priests. Twelve seems to have had a special importance; there were the twelve chief cities, twelve councillor gods, the cycle of 12,000 years for the life of the world, and 1,200 for the life of the nation. They had a year of twelve solar months, while the Greeks and many other nations of antiquity counted by lunar months. The Etruscan and early Egyptian calendars seem to have resembled each other. One of the astronomers of the Delta divided the year into twelve months of thirty days with a sacred period of five feast days at the end of the year. The Egyptians began their calendar on the day when Sirius rose at sunrise, *i.e.* 4241 B.C. Niebuhr describes the Etruscan manner of computing time and their system of cycles, which they called secular days and in which a nation might count its rise, prosperity and fall. Plutarch tells us that the Etruscan augurs announced the end of the secular day of their nation as about to occur at a certain date and that it tallied with the reverses which ended their dominion in Italy.

Augury or the science of divination filled a most important place in Etruscan religion. Nothing could be undertaken either in public or private life with-

out first consulting the augur. There is frequent mention in Roman history of messengers being sent to Etruria to consult the augurs on the meaning of portents or the chance of a successful termination of an undertaking. Modestow draws a parallel between the divination of the Chaldeans and the Etruscans. Cicero says the Etruscans came next to the Chaldeans in the science of divination. The bronze templum in the form of a liver found at Piacenza is similar to a clay one found in Chaldea and described by Alfred Boissier. Several methods of divination were practised, one was effected by consulting the entrails of animals, another by the flight of birds.

A passage in Vitruvius shows us a practical side to the science of augury. He tells us that the augurs examined the entrails of animals found on the site where it was proposed to build a city; if they were in a good state the site was declared healthy, if diseased, then it was considered unfit for the habitations of men. The same author tells of a remedy for enlarged spleen which was found out by observing that certain cattle in the island of Crete had abnormally small and dried up spleens. They were observed and seen to eat a certain plant, and this was experimented with and finally became a recognized remedy for enlarged spleen. The examination of entrails thus appears rather as a branch of the medical science of the time than as a mere

adjunct of sorcery. There is nothing new in the identity of priest and doctor in past ages, but we seem to see its working out more clearly than usual in Etruria.

In addition to, or in connection with, the science of augury the priestly governors of Etruria had another fund of secret knowledge, by which they inspired awe and respect. This was the so-called science of thunder which Latin authors tell us was part of the Secret Discipline taught by the priests. The Secret Discipline was a system of initiation or instruction given to boys by the priests. The Emperor Claudius was an initiate, which makes the loss of his books on Etruria the more unfortunate. What the whole course of initiation was we do not know; probably it varied according to the position and capacity of the learner and the will of the priests. They would not be likely to give away secrets by which they maintained their supremacy over the crowd. The initiation of Romans, of which we read, was probably perfunctory, a sort of finish to the education of a gentleman, but Claudius was a student and even in the then decadent state of Etruscan religion and civilization he could not have failed to gain much interesting information by his intercourse with the priests. The science of thunder possibly included some knowledge of electricity which the initiates used chiefly to awe and impress

the vulgar. The mysteries of the Greek and Egyptian priests had probably the same origin as those of the Etruscans, derived, so far as we know, from the far East. It is curious to note the assertion of Marco Polo that the priests of Tibet were credited with the power to raise by their spells tempests accompanied by thunder and lightning.

Laws. The government of Etruria, being a theocracy which combined the civil and religious functions in one, these mysteries served, if they did nothing else, to consolidate the power of the rulers by raising their prestige in the eyes of the people. The laws by which these priestly governors ruled were called the Laws of Tages and were contained in the Books of Ritual that were jealously guarded in the temples. No fragment of them survives, unless the odd pages of a book in the Etruscan language found wrapped round an Egyptian mummy and now in the Museum of Agram should turn out to be a portion of a Book of Ritual. We know however something of the laws from the mention of them in Greek and Latin authors. Being considered of divine origin they were binding on the people as part of their religion. The legend relates that they were given to the nation by a wonderful boy named Tages who sprang from a furrow which a husbandman was ploughing near Tarquinii. He dictated these laws to a nymph named Bigoë by whom they were written down.

They were the foundation of Etruscan prosperity, containing a system of agricultural legislation which, as long as it was adhered to, made Etruria a garden of fertility, utilised the least promising sites, rendered marshes healthy and overcame the forces of nature.

The urban administration under these Laws seems to have been equally conducive to the prosperity of the nation. Each city was ruled by a Lucumon or governor who combined the offices of civil and ecclesiastical ruler. The office was elective as were all the official positions in Etruria. The basis of the franchise is generally stated to have been aristocratic but Dionysius alludes to a popular assembly held at Tarquinii. In the management of local affairs each city was self-governing, but to consider affairs affecting the League as a whole, a solemn conclave was held at the shrine of the goddess Voltumna or Vertumna near Orvieto (Velznas), and on these occasions one of the Lucumones was chosen Pontiff and presided over the deliberations.

Of the three provinces into which Etruria was divided, it was Etruria proper which occupied the middle of the peninsula and which existed the longest. The Gauls in the north and the Greeks in the south made successful inroads into Etruria Circumpadana and Etruria Campaniana, long before Rome began her attacks upon the heart of the nation.

Each province contained twelve cities, but no complete record has come down to us of the names of those of the northern and southern provinces. We know that in the north, Felsina, Melpo, Mantua, Ravenna, Spina, Cupra and Adria were important towns. Some of the largest and most interesting cemeteries have been unearthed near and at Bologna. Mantua the birthplace of Virgil is named by Latin writers as a great Etruscan city and Adria, which is now some distance inland, owing to the silting up of the Po, was an Etruscan seaport, flourishing enough to give its name to the Adriatic sea.

In the southern province Capua, Anzio, Nola and perhaps Salerno and Sorrento were Etruscan towns and many archaeologists believe that Pompeii and Herculaneum were originally the same. An Etruscan column built into a wall of Pompeii is a testimony in support of this opinion.

The names of a number of cities in Campania are given by Ettore Pais in his book on ancient Italy, as occurring on coins of the fourth century B.C. and entirely disappearing in the following century. Among these are Alipha, Phistelia, Celliba, Hydria and Irthne.

The names of the twelve cities of Etruria proper vary slightly in different authors; Micali and Jules Martha suggest that certain cities may have risen or fallen in importance at different epochs. The

following list gives the generally accepted names, in the Etruscan, Latin and modern Italian versions.

NAMES OF CITIES IN ETRURIA PROPER

	Etruscan	Latin	Italian
1.	Tarchne	Tarquinii	Tarquinia—Corneto
2.	Veii	Veii	Veio—Isola Farnese
3.	Velz	Volsinii	Orvieto—Bolsena
4.	Vatl	Vetulonia	Colonna
5.	Perusia	Perusia	Perugia
6.	Cere	Caere	Ceri—Cervetri
7.	Veteres	Falerii	Faleria—Cività Castellana
8.	Curt	Cortona	Cortona
9.	Camars	Clusium	Chiusi
10.	Velathri	Volaterrae	Volterra
11.	Arreti	Arretium	Arezzo
12.	Rusellii	Rusellae	Ruselli

The spelling of Etruscan names varies, especially in the matter of vowels, which are omitted or changed in accordance with rules, which our ignorance of the language does not permit us to understand. Thus on coins or inscriptions, Vetulonia is spelt indifferently, Vatl, Vetl, Vetluma and Vetulu.

Cere has a fifth name neither Etruscan, Latin nor Italian. It is said to have been called Agylle by its founders, before its conquest by the Etruscans. Orvieto is the modern representative of the Etruscan town of Velz; Bolsena is now identified with Volsinii, the town built by the banished inhabitants of Velz after the Roman conquest. This change of site also

happened at Veteres, where Civit  Castellana occupies the site of the Etruscan city and Faleria of the Romanized town. In the case of abandoned sites such as Veii, Tarquinii and Ruselli, an Italianized version of the Latin name is now used, Veio, Tarquinia and Ruselli. In the above list, I add the name of the village or town which sprang up in the Middle Ages, just outside the ancient walls of the Etruscan or Roman town.

Language. We have now come to the consideration of the language, which is the hardest nut the Etruscan student has yet to crack. There is only one undeniable statement to be made about it, and that is that so far it has baffled philologists.

Any day, however, the great discovery may be made which will set at rest so many hitherto unanswered questions. That the problem has not been already solved, does not prove that many and determined efforts have not been made.

Philologists of many countries have tried, by all known tests, to interpret the thousands of inscriptions which are open to our inspection. A certain measure of success has attended their endeavours, for by comparison of one epitaph with another and especially by comparing the few bi-lingual ones in existence, it has become possible to translate such words as son—slave—freedman—and to distinguish feminine terminations, and plurals. These solitary words and

signs, however, are not sufficient to give us the grammatical formation of the language or to furnish indications which might connect it with any of the known great families of language.

One long bi-lingual inscription would do this; unfortunately those which have come to hand so far are of the baldest conventional type of epitaph. The two languages found in juxtaposition are Latin and Etruscan. I am not aware that any inscriptions with Greek as an alternative language have yet been found. Perhaps when more excavations have been made in Campania, along the boundary, where Magna Grecia and Etruria came in contact, some such may be discovered. The most important find of late years has been the writing on a piece of linen wrapped round an Egyptian mummy, which is now in the Museum of Agram. This writing is in the Etruscan language and has been at present identified by scholars as part of a Book of Ritual. Names of gods occur in it and other isolated words can be translated, but the sense of the whole still defies interpretation. We need not begin to despair, however; every day new material is turning up, longer inscriptions and more of them are found, so that a word is added here and another there to the vocabulary we already possess. We are indebted to coins, of which hundreds of thousands are dug up in every Etruscan city and tomb, for the names of towns and deities;

these are generally abbreviated owing to exiguity of space but the capital letters give the necessary clue.

Among those whose labours in this field during the last century attracted most attention were Corssen, Deecke and Pauli, but their conclusions were vitiated by preconceived notions. Corssen assumed that Etruscan was a sister language to Latin, and on the strength of a similarity in some words, wrote a book *Die Sprache der Etrusker* in this sense. Deecke exposed his fallacies, but neither he nor Pauli got on the right track, which was shown by the fact that though they agreed in their theories as to the construction of the language, when they came to translate existing inscriptions they interpreted them differently. The Eugubine tables, which I have already mentioned as hanging in the Palazzo del Pretorio at Gubbio in Umbria, raised the expectations of scholars, but though in the Etruscan character they prove to be another language, which we may naturally conclude to be Umbrian, since Latin writers tell us that the Umbrians preserved their own language while under the domination of the Etruscans.

The most important inscription so far known is one at Perugia engraved on a cippus, containing twenty-four lines on one side and twenty-one on the other.

Bi-linguals have been found at Chiusi, Tarquinii

and Perugia, but they are merely short epitaphs, which reveal but few variations of words or style. The following is an example :—

VL ALPHNINUVICAINAL

C. Alfius A. F. Camina natus.

The Etruscan alphabet resembles archaic Greek. There were a number of competing signs in existence in the Mediterranean from very early times, the Greek and Etruscan alphabets were a selection from these—a peculiarity of the Etruscan writing is, that it is to be read from right to left.

The numerals are what we call Roman, and are not peculiar to any nation; they are even found carved on the stones of ruined cities in central America, being simply an arrangement of lines. We know the Etruscan names of numbers up to six, through their being written on the sides of some dice found in a tomb at Vulci. They are Mach, Thu, Zal, Huth, Ki, Sa. The only drawback to this discovery is, that we do not know at which end to begin to count, Mach may be one or six and so on.

It is singular that the name Ra-sena, which Dionysius tells us was that by which the Etruscans called themselves, has been found on no inscription. I do not know of any inscriptions in early tombs in any language but Etruscan. The explanation may

be that until the arrival of the Etruscans there was no written language, and the native dialects, if they continued to be spoken, were not committed to writing. We have seen by the evidence of the Eugubine tables that the Umbrians, while preserving their language, wrote it in Etruscan characters, but this does not seem to have been the case in Etruria proper. If, as is believed by some archaeologists, the Etruscan is the original stock and the various Italic dialects with affinities to the Latin, varieties of the language of Latin immigrants, then these difficulties disappear, but so far the explanations which are suggested of linguistic difficulties do not accord with those offered by the explorers of other antiquities. Sometimes it seems as if the solution of the various problems was almost within our grasp, when some contradictory evidence is brought forward and all falls back into uncertainty. Only the discovery of a right key to the language can clear up these discrepancies. Until within comparatively recent times too much could not be expected even from this, as epitaphs, though telling something of the social identity of historic personalities, are dry records, but the cippus of Perugia promises more than this, and the leaf of the Book of Ritual of Agram would be the source of priceless revelations. An inscription was discovered in the island of Lemnos by Cousin and Durrback in 1885 at the village of

Kaminia, inscribed on both sides of a block of pietraccia measuring ninety-five centimetres by forty. Its likeness to Etruscan has been recognized by all students of the language, but it has not so far afforded any help in the interpretation of Etruscan inscriptions, and is principally interesting in its bearing on the question of Etruscan origins.

CHAPTER III

SEPULCHRES

THE study of Etruscan antiquity has been called a study of the graveyard and the tomb, but not on that account need we fear that it must be gloomy and depressing. On the contrary the Etruscan idea of death seems to have been a cheerful one. They placed their dead in chambers made as comfortable and as like human habitations as circumstances would permit, and surrounded them with every object of use or luxury which they could have needed when in life. It is true that painted or sculptured on some part of the sepulchre we often find a hideous gorgon-like face or a truculent demon armed with a club or a pitchfork, but these conventional symbols of their religion are counterbalanced and outnumbered by the domestic scenes, and the representations of feasts, sports and amusements with which the walls of the tombs are frescoed. The effigies of the dead which repose on the sarcophagi instead of lying inert and lifeless as on more modern tombs are generally represented alive, half-reclining on one elbow, in the

attitude of oriental and ancient peoples when at meals, with countenances full of alert and lively expression; they are clad in richly embroidered garments, adorned with jewels and wear wreaths on their heads. The males hold the sacrificial patera or mundum in their hands, the females generally a mirror.

The belief of the Etruscans in an after life, or as it would be more correctly expressed, in the continuance of life but little changed by the accident of death, meets us at every turn and is evident in each detail of the arrangement of their sepulchres. The exact significance of these details it is difficult to determine; whether it was believed that the soul returned to enjoy the material things placed in the tomb, whether these objects were themselves supposed to possess a mystic or spiritual essence corresponding to that of the human soul, or whether they were simply taken as symbols of the joys of heaven, we cannot decide without a full study of the Etruscan religion and its connection with the mysterious symbolism of the religions of the East. It is with the practical and popular side of this fundamental idea, that we are confronted in the tombs of the defunct citizens of Etruria, and we may surmise that here as elsewhere, one or other conception obtained credence according to the degree of cultivation or religious elevation of the minds of the survivors.

Etruscan cemeteries were always situated outside

the cities ; there is no instance of tombs being found within the walls. The tombs are also subterranean, either hewn in the rock or burrowed in hill-sides and lined with masonry, or, if on level ground, covered with a mound or tumulus. Tombs resembling that of Cecilia Metella on the Appian Way belong to a later period.

When we speak of the richly decorated tombs of the Etruscans, we allude to those which mark the arrival of the nation at a high degree of culture. Nearly all the cemeteries hitherto excavated contain a number of tombs of a much more primitive form. We have, in fact, a chronological series extending over many centuries and advancing from the simplest hole in the ground, to the artistic and highly ornamented splendours of the Volumni or the Tarquinii.

Well-Tombs. There are three distinct types of tomb, which correspond to successive epochs of civilization. The first is the primitive tomba à pozzo, as they are called in Italian, which I will call well-tombs, "pozzo" meaning a well or well-like hole. These, as their name indicates, are merely holes in the ground lined inside with masonry ; they have a smaller recess at the bottom, in which the urn with the ashes of the dead was placed, and this was covered by a flat stone. These primitive tombs are found throughout Etruria. They are also found in Rome. Middleton, in his *History of Rome*, writes : "On the Esquiline,

tombs have been brought to light of the most primitive construction, dating probably from a much more remote period than the time traditionally given as that of the foundation of Rome. Some are of that primitive subterranean sort to which access is given like that of a well."

These tombs cannot properly be called Etruscan, as they belong to an earlier type of civilization, but the people who made them appear to have existed for a long time under Etruscan rule, continuing to use their own funeral customs. It is not necessary to enter fully into the subject in this chapter, as I am here only describing the contents of the cemeteries, and undoubtedly the well-tomb is largely represented in every, or nearly every, Etruscan necropolis.

Graves. The next type of tomb is the *tomba à fossa*, which we may call simply grave, as "*fossa*" means a ditch or long shaped hole in the ground. Their size is from seven to eight feet long, three to four feet wide, and seven to nine feet deep. The body is found sometimes burnt as in the well-tombs, sometimes buried entire. The two modes of interment were contemporaneous during a long period.

Corridor Tombs. The third type is that of the chamber or corridor tomb; this form, improved and elaborated as the civilization of the nation advanced, is that generally meant when an Etruscan tomb is alluded to, for in them we find the examples of an art and culture from which all primitive rudeness



Moscioni, photo.

TOMB
Cervetti

had finally disappeared, and an artistic influence which stamped itself upon every detail of their construction and contents. The most common form of these tombs is that of a chamber, off which others open; sometimes a central pillar seems to support the roof, but does not really do so, as both are quarried out of the solid rock, in other cases the roof is carved to imitate beams; when the walls are formed of masonry, it is generally covered with a coat of cement on which is painted, in fresco, an endless variety of scenes from the domestic, social and religious life of the nation. In many, if not most cases, these tombs are obviously imitations of the houses of the Etruscans as described by Vitruvius and other Latin writers.

Tumuli. The tumuli which mark the site of those tombs which were not hewn on the rocky faces of cliffs or tunnelled in hill-sides, were mounds of earth surmounting a circle of stones, within which the sepulchre was made; sometimes the earth has been removed in the course of tilling the ground and the stone circle discovered. The Cucumella at Vulci, the Vaccareccia at Veii and the Pietrera at Vetulonia are specimens of this class of tomb.

It is supposed that the summit of the tumulus was crowned by one of those huge cone-like stones of which numbers are found in early cemeteries; some of these have Etruscan inscriptions roughly carved

on them, some are wholly unadorned. Various suggestions as to their use have been made, but Milani (*Studi e Materiale*) gives reasons for concluding that they were the culminating point and, as it were, the seal of the sepulchral tumulus.

Sculptured Façades. When the tombs are excavated in the sides of hills and cliffs advantage has been taken of the natural features of the soil and in many instances, notably at Bieda, Castel d'Asso and Norchia, imposing façades, sculptured in the living rock, mark the entrance to the resting places of the dead. The doorways are often formed of three huge stones, two upright and slightly inclining towards each other, as we see in Egyptian and other very early architecture, and one across the top. The doors are formed of two solid slabs of stone working on pivots, formed by projections on their upper and lower edges, fitting into sockets in the threshold and architrave.

With the development of art, the entrances became more elaborate, sculptured cornices and columns adorned the doorways and arcades led to the inner chamber. The cemeteries are often laid out on the plan of a city, with streets, open squares, walls and gates, so that while the tomb of each individual Etruscan is a reproduction of the house which he inhabited when alive, the graveyard of the citizens is an imitation of their native town.

Urns. In the early tombs the ashes of the dead were deposited in urns, called in Italian, *Ziri*. These were of various forms, a common one that of a huge earthenware jar with, as a cover, an inverted saucer, and decorated by patterns of dots and lines scratched on its surface. Nearly every cemetery has, however, some peculiar form of urn. Those found at Chiusi (the Etruscan Camars) for example, have each a sort of stopper in the form of a head with a quaintly ugly face, and the neck fits into the opening of the jar as into a socket, reminding one of those Chinese mandarin figures of porcelain with wagging heads and protruding tongues, in old-fashioned drawing-rooms, which were the joy of our childhood. These Chiusi jars or urns have short straight arms which protrude from sockets on either side and give the whole an irresistibly comic effect. They are generally called *canopës*, a name given to similar urns found in Egypt.

Another form is that of the hut urn, an imitation of the dwelling of primitive man, reminding one of the hut of Romulus on the Palatine described by ancient authors.

The interiors of the tombs are reproductions on a small scale of Etruscan daily life. Pictures, statuary, household furniture, domestic utensils, money, weapons, ornaments, priestly vestments, personal jewelry and toilet accessories, are all found

confined in the narrow limits of the last resting-places of the dead. Could we restore them to their first use and see them in due perspective around their owner, we should not need written testimony to tell us what manner of man he was.

It is needless to state that comparatively few of these treasure-houses of antiquity have come down to us intact; most have been rifled more than once. The earliest desecrators seized the more valuable articles of jewelry and utensils or arms of silver and gold, but the common articles of household or personal use they left, as not being worth the trouble of carrying away. Thus in many tombs the earthenware vases and amphoræ are found thrown down and broken as if in a hasty search for treasure. During the early days of Roman domination it is probable that the graves were not violated officially, for the common origin of their religion would make the Romans respect the Etruscan dead, but the abandonment of the sites of so many Etruscan towns would leave the field open for those secret grave-robbers who have not feared to rob the dead in all ages. When the worship of the gods decayed and scepticism became fashionable in Rome, greed triumphed over religious awe and already in the time of Julius Caesar the painted vases, which had become valuable, were sought and taken wherever they were to be found. When the hordes of bar-

barians devastated Italy, the cemeteries did not escape, and during the middle ages they were continually pillaged, until gradually their sites were overgrown and forgotten and they were left in peace almost until our own days. After all these vicissitudes, it may seem surprising that they should still yield us so rich a material for the study of the past, but we must remember that those common objects of daily use, those artistically worthless effigies and reliefs and those irremovable frescoes which are still found in such numbers, were not regarded as valuable by contemporaries or even by medieval thieves, while to us they are even more useful and suggestive, as means for reconstructing the life and times of those ages, than the most exquisite works of the goldsmith or the sculptor. In the virgin tombs of Vetulonia, Vulci, Caere and others, we obtain a sufficient number of the more precious objects to assure us of the height and perfection of Etruscan art and culture, but it is chiefly among the humbler objects that we find those priceless indications which initiate us into the private and public life of the citizen of Etruria.

A more dangerous class of plunderers were those who in the earlier years of the re-discovery of Etruscan sites excavated, without archaeological knowledge or interest, solely for what they could gain by the sale of the objects found. In these cases tombs were

hastily stripped of their contents and then left exposed to the inclemency of the weather and the depredations either of the animals or the labourers of the fields. Thus any remnants of painting or sculpture were quickly destroyed and frequently earth was thrown over the whole and the site lost. Meantime the contents were scattered broadcast in museums, or fell into private hands, and priceless links in the history of the past were broken for ever; for it is by comparing objects thus recovered with the place in which they were found, and the other relics among which they lay, that all the soundest deductions as to the origin of Etruscan arts have been drawn.

It is heart-rending to the student to read of the way in which Dennis found excavations being carried on at Veii and Vulci in the years between 1842 and 1847. Such wholesale and wanton destruction as was meted out to these unfortunate cemeteries, would horrify the least instructed peasant of to-day, who has learnt by observation at least, that all "*roba antica*," even that which seems to him most rubbishy, has its worth and must be treated with respect.

Of Veii, Dennis writes: "The greater part of the land belongs to the Queen of Sardinia" (the Queen of Sardinia sounds strangely to us to-day) "who lets it out in the season to excavators, most

of them dealers in antiquities in Rome; but as lucre is their sole object they are content to rifle the tombs of everything convertible into cash and cover them in immediately with earth¹."

The same vandalistic treatment is pursued at Vulci; here, I again quote Dennis: "We found them on the point of opening a tomb. The roof, as is often the case in this light friable tufo, had fallen in, and the tomb was filled with earth, out of which the articles it contained had to be dug in detail. This is a process requiring great care and tenderness, little of which, however, was here used, for it was seen by the first objects brought to light that nothing of value was to be expected. Coarse pottery of unfigured and even of unvarnished ware and a variety of small articles in black clay, were its only produce: but our astonishment was only equalled by our indignation when we saw the labourers dash them to the ground and crush them beneath their feet. In vain I pleaded to save some from destruction, for, though of no marketable worth they were often of curious and elegant forms, and valuable as relics of the olden time not to be replaced, but no, it was all '*roba di sciocchezza*,' 'foolish stuff,' the capo was inexorable, his orders were to destroy immediately whatever was of no pecuniary value and he would not allow me to carry away one

¹ *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, p. 119.

of these relics which he so despised." It is lamentable that excavations should ever have been carried on in such a spirit. These wreckers were employed by the Princess of Cannino, widow of Lucien Bonaparte, who, one would think, ought to have known better.

Archaic painted tombs at Veii. It is consoling to turn from this record of destruction to the account of the archaic tomb uncovered at Veii by the Cavaliere Campana, which he had the good taste to leave exactly in the state in which it was found, merely securing its safety by replacing its broken door by a new one. At the time Dennis visited the cemetery, about 1845, it was still in this condition, so interesting to the archaeologist and antiquarian. Unfortunately its contents have now been removed but it remains accessible, and is the only tomb in that vast necropolis which it is possible to visit and examine. It is a good specimen of the early painted tomb. To approach it one must climb the hill-side facing the cliff once crowned by the buildings of Veii. A passage cut in the slope, but not covered in, leads to the door of the tomb. One sees at once that this was the original mode of access; the sides of the passage are as when hewn out of the rock by the Etruscan mason. When the tomb was discovered, the earth which had fallen in and blocked the passage was merely removed with a spade. Arrived

at the entrance a disappointment awaits one, for the original doorway is masked by a wall of modern masonry in which a new door is fixed and a modern inscription gives the date of the discovery of the tomb. On each side are pedestals on which carved lions formerly reposed, but they have now been removed. The crouching lion, symbol of material force, was a frequent guardian of Etruscan sepulchres. The fragments of the door have been placed in a recess on the left hand outside the doorway and one can see that it consisted of two stone slabs turning on pivots. The use of the recess we do not know, it is not decorated in any way and may have been a mere depository for utensils used in commemorative ceremonies, when the friends of the dead came to celebrate religious functions in the tomb, or as has sometimes been thought, it may be the humble grave of a favourite slave or servant. The fact that there is a bench carved in the stone at one side, like those which support the corpses in the other tombs, makes this probable. The original doorway, inside that built for the new door, is arched in the primitive manner by stones laid horizontally, projecting one beyond the other and closed at the top by a flat stone. This shows the great antiquity of the tomb, for it was evidently built before the keyed arch was practised by Etruscan builders, and the Cloaca Maxima at Rome is an existing proof of the early

date at which they had arrived at perfection in the art of vaulting. Within are two chambers, the first serving as antechamber to the second. The stone couches on each side of the first chamber still supported skeletons when first the tomb was opened but they soon crumbled away through the action of the air. One of them was probably a soldier, for portions of a helmet and breast-plate lay on the couch, in the places occupied by his head and body. No traces of the habiliments of the other body remained, it is conjectured that the wife of the warrior lay here, if so, the jewelry with which her corpse would certainly have been adorned must have been stolen in bygone ages. A number of vases and jars of rough reddish-brown ware and urns containing ashes were found. These cinerary urns, found not only in the same cemeteries but in the same tombs as those in which the corpse is buried entire, are another proof, if proof is needed, of the peaceable fusion in Etruria of two races with distinct funeral customs. In this case the ashes were those of persons of less importance, slaves or retainers of the two whose unburned bodies lay on the couches. Mirrors, votive images, bronze ewers and candelabra were found, and a brazier used probably for burning perfumes, a utensil which is part of the furniture of every tomb. All these objects have been removed and the interest of the tomb now consists in the

frescoes. I shall describe these in the chapter on Etruscan painting. They indicate high antiquity. The sphinx, the long-legged high-crouped horses, the head-dresses of the men and the colour of their flesh, all show that kinship with Egypt which is found in very early tombs, and the symbol of fertility worked into the background is equally significant of the beliefs which link the most ancient religions to each other.

It is singular that this tomb should be the only one of its type known on this spot. Notwithstanding the ruin and destruction worked in the cemeteries of Veii, one would have hoped that some vestiges would have remained, had there been others similarly decorated, and on the other hand it is difficult to believe that this warrior alone, of all the inhabitants of Veii, chose to have his sepulchre thus adorned.

Painted tombs at Chiusi. A tomb which has points of similarity to the Grotta Campana, is the Grotta della Scimia or Monkey tomb at Chiusi. It is of considerably later date as the style of the paintings show, but the general shape and arrangement is similar. It was formerly approached by a passage but this has been filled up. At present one descends into it by a steep flight of twenty-seven steps. It is situated on a woody hill about a couple of miles from Chiusi. Possibly here was the suburban villa of an important inhabitant, who made his tomb

in the grounds of his house. It was discovered in 1846 and is larger than the Veii tomb, consisting of a central chamber with three others opening from it, one on each side and one opposite the entrance. Only two of these are frescoed. The couches on which the bodies were laid are more elaborate than those at Veii, at the head are two sculptured cushions, one on the other, most realistically carved with fringes and tassels. The ceilings are also remarkable, they are sculptured in square coffer-shaped mouldings, and have a cornice running all round on which Medusa heads are painted. One must regret that we have no account of the contents or appearance of this tomb when first discovered. The life-like scenes on the walls seem to plunge us into the life of the time and could one only have at hand all the objects which once lay there, a complete reconstruction of the occupant's daily life would be within one's grasp.

Another tomb of this type at Chiusi is that of the Colle Casuccini. The paintings in it are wonderfully preserved and the door is worthy of particular notice. It consists of two stone slabs as in the Campana tomb, but these have not been broken, so that we can examine the mechanism of their hinges in working order. These consist of two projections at the top and bottom carved out of the solid stone slabs of which they are part and parcel; these round pivots fit into holes in the lintel and threshold, above and



Moscioni, photo.

DOOR OF TOMB
Chiusi

below, and the door turns on them as on hinges. To look up at the huge mass of rock forming the lintel and the mass of earth above it into which the roots of the vegetation of the hill-side are twined, is to realize the ages that have passed since that door was first put in its place, for in a doorway thus planned, the lintel must necessarily be superposed after the lower pivot has been adjusted into the hole in the threshold. In the interior there is an outer and an inner chamber, the ceilings are carved to imitate beams and coffered like the timbered ceilings of Renaissance palaces. The couches for the dead are in the inner tomb, of which the outer seems to be the antechamber.

Gran Duca tomb, Chiusi. Not far from the Monkey tomb is one which is a type of quite a different class of sepulchre. It was discovered in 1818 and is called the Gran Duca tomb, as its site formerly belonged to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The entrance is almost flush with the hill-side, the door is of two stone slabs revolving on pivots like those already mentioned, but one of the slabs was broken when found, and so the present door was substituted. No paintings adorn its walls, which are nevertheless not without their special beauty. This consists in exquisite mortarless masonry of the true Etruscan description, which we can here admire in perfection. The roof is a barrel arch, with key stone,

every stone fitting into its place with a scrupulous precision which has enabled it to endure for over twenty centuries. The blocks of travertine of which the walls are made are 2 ft. by 1 in size. A shelf runs round the chamber on which are cinerary urns of square form also of travertine sculptured with various figures, marine monsters, Gorgon's heads and a Bacchus riding on a panther. Each urn bears an inscription in the Etruscan character, which tells us that the tomb belonged to a family of the name of Peris, thus:

Am Pursna Peris Pumpual
An Pulphna Peris an Seianthal
Lth Peris Matansnal
Thania Seiante Perisal
Thana Arntnei Perisalisa
Thana Arinei Perisalisai

and so on. The terminations -al, -isa and -isai are interpreted as marking the feminine. Pursna is Etruscan for Porsenna, which was its Latin equivalent. We notice here that the primitive principle of vaulting and arching by horizontal layers of stones one projecting beyond another, is abandoned in favour of the perfect arch, and that all the bodies have been burned and the ashes enclosed, not in jars, but in oblong box-like urns ornamented in relief. The tomb of the Gran Duca may then be regarded as of a later type than that of its neighbour the Monkey tomb or that of the Colle Casuccini.

A form of sepulchral chamber differing somewhat from those cited is round, and a pillar in the middle appears to support the roof but does not really do so, as all is hewn out of the solid rock. This pillar shows, as do the carved beams and cofferings of the ceilings, that the tombs were built in imitation of houses. Where the tomb is of masonry and not rock-hewn, the pillar of course fulfils its proper function of support. Occasionally sculptures are found on the internal walls but generally, when not frescoed, they are lined simply with stucco or masonry, or the surface of the rock is merely smoothed and such sculpture as there is consists of counterfeits of armour, weapons or other objects hanging on the walls. Some round tombs have also been found built of concentric layers of smallish flat stones which diminish towards the top, forming a dome closed by a stone cone on the summit. In their general lines the corridor tombs are alike internally, though some are very much larger and more elaborate than others. The passage leading to a central chamber from which the others branch, the vaulted or coffered ceilings, couches or benches against the walls and heavy stone doors appear again and again in every cemetery.

Painted tombs at Tarquinii and Vulci. The greatest number of painted tombs have been discovered at Tarquinii; on the Montarozzi more than

fifty have been excavated. Vulci also possesses some, and among them one of great interest as it casts some light on a controverted point in Roman history. It is called the François tomb and here we find the legend, quoted by the Emperor Claudius in his speech to the envoys from Lyons, confirmed. A soldier, whose name *Macstrna* is written in Etruscan letters over him, is freeing a prisoner called *Celes Vibenna*. It will be remembered that Claudius stated that the true name of Servius Tullius was *Mastarna*, and that he was an Etruscan and came to Rome with a friend called *Celes Vibenna*. In the same tomb is a fresco representing Achilles killing the Trojan prisoners on the tomb of Patroclus. The style of this painting shows Greek influence and it is important as giving the Etruscan names for the Greek heroes and gods. The principal figures are all labelled, Achilles—Achle, Agamemnon—Achmemeun, and so on.

At Cervetri, the ancient Cere or Agylle, there are many painted tombs, notably the so-called Grotta del Triclino. Pliny mentions the existence of paintings in the tombs on this site and says they were executed before the foundation of Rome.

Tomb of the Tarquins. One of the most important of the Cervetri tombs is that of the Tarquins. It is approached by a flight of steps and has two pillars in the centre. The walls are stuccoed but there are no frescoes, only inscriptions painted in red and

black and a few decorations, such as wreaths or vases. In the inscriptions the Etruscan form of the name of Tarquin, Tarchne, is used, but in a few of the later ones, we have the Latin Tarquin. This is a specimen of the Etruscan: Avle-Tarchnas-Larthal-Clan. Some of the bodies were deposited in recesses in the wall, others on the stone benches below. In some of the cemeteries at different places, the name of Tarchne is found on urns or inscriptions, in conjunction with other family names, but this was clearly the family vault of the great clan which played such a forward part in the early history of Rome.

Regulini-Galassi tomb. The famous Regulini-Galassi tomb is also here, but it is not the tomb itself but its marvellous contents which renders it unique among Etruscan sepulchres, and these have all been removed and are for the most part in the Gregorian Museum at the Vatican. The tomb is of the primitive type of corridor tomb consisting of the false arch of horizontal stones smoothed off till the form of a gothic arch is simulated, with the difference that the apex is not pointed but is formed by a flat stone laid across the top. The magnificence of the find of jewelry and plate within, was the result of it being an absolutely virgin tomb when General Galassi and the arch-priest Regulini unearthed it in 1836. The warrior who lay in the outer tomb was surrounded by his beautifully wrought bronze armour

and weapons, and in the smaller inner chamber a wealth of gold and silver ornaments adorned the person of his wife. Except for the archaic character of its architecture, the tomb has now no features of interest. The incredible carelessness with which excavations were carried on in the first half of the nineteenth century is shown by the fact, that after the removal of its precious contents, the tomb was left without even a door to protect it from dilapidation. I have now described the internal features of the different types of tombs found in Etruscan cemeteries and traced their development from the simple hole in the ground to the highly decorated series of rooms composing the chamber or corridor tomb. One feature they possess in common, they were all outside the cities and beneath the earth. The Etruscans neither buried in their towns nor placed the bodies of the dead in mausoleums above ground. It is thanks to this custom that so much remains of what would otherwise have been irretrievably lost and destroyed. When ruin overtook the unhappy country, the kind earth guarded its dead, and after the first fury of the destroying hordes was spent, covered all with a vesture of rank herbage and thicket which protected them from further insult.

During the long years, however, when worship and honour were offered to their memory, outward

signs were not wanting to mark the sepulchres. I will now describe those usually employed.

Tumuli. The most ancient form of indicating the resting places of the dead seems to have been the tumuli; beginning with mere cairns, they developed into the cone-like hillocks, sometimes so large as to form quite a feature in the landscape, which are found in the neighbourhood of every Etruscan town. These mounds, though dating from the earliest times, continued to be made wherever the ground was not favourable for other modes of interment. Sergi, who claims an African origin for the early inhabitants of Italy, writes: "The tumulus is the pyramid in embryo and the pyramid is the tumulus in its magnificent colossal form," and adds "I could show that the Etruscan chambered tomb belongs to the same type as the Egyptian pyramid." Certainly the tumulus seems most likely to suggest itself to the dwellers in a flat country and we see that in Italy, where the steep hill-sides lent themselves to the plan of tunnelling into their depths, the tumulus was abandoned after a time, except in the plains; or, where isolated instances occur, they may be put down to the conservatism which perpetuates ancestral forms of burial.

The size of some of these tumuli is very great, and where, as in the case of the Vaccareccia at Veii, the Cucumella at Vulci and the Poggio Gaiella at

Chiusi, the form of the tumulus is intact, they immediately attract the attention and point out an Etruscan site. When a perfect tumulus is excavated, it is found to consist of a platform of stone surrounded by an encircling wall, from which winding passages penetrate into the interior. The Cucumella at Vulci has two towers, one square, one conical, built into it. Very often the earth has been displaced in tilling the ground, or carried away, and thus the form of the tumulus is spoiled, and fragments of the stone circle only remain to tell of its existence. When this is the case, earth and stones have fallen into the tombs in such quantities as to make the work of clearing them out very arduous, but on the other hand, the results of such excavations are often satisfactory, for amongst the *débris* valuable objects are found which through being mixed up with rubbish have escaped the notice of former plunderers. The dark and tortuous passages in the interior of a tumulus are difficult and sometimes dangerous to explore, which has been a further defence to their contents. Dennis was obliged to go on his hands and knees when he wished to explore the Regulini-Galassi tomb or the Banditaccia at Caere. In the latter case the tumulus has been destroyed and only a low bank remains.

Some tumuli were excavated by the Duchess of Sermoneta in 1838 on her estates near Palo on the

high road between Rome and Civit  Vecchia. They were encircled by the usual stone wall and the tombs within were of the archaic arched form of the Regulini-Galassi. They contained pottery and some jewelry of early date. At Saturnia some very early tombs were found enclosed in tumuli; they were of a remarkable form, being composed of rough masses of rock resting one against another, forming a sort of pent-house, and had a strong likeness to the cromlechs or dolmens found in the British Isles. Some peculiar tombs were also found in tumuli at Volterra. They were of the round type and built of polygonal masonry, and have given rise to much discussion as they belong to a type unusual in Etruria. The celebrated tomb at Cortona called the Tanella di Pitagora is supposed to have been covered by a tumulus. All that remains, however, is the exquisite sandstone masonry of the external wall. The tomb is of primitive arched form.

At Vetulonia in Maremma a number of tumuli have been found, and the tombs thus unearthed have yielded the intensely interesting collection which is arranged in chronological order in the Florence Museum.

Tumuli at Vetulonia. The Poggio di Bello and Poggio alla Guardia are tumuli, "poggio" being the Italian name for a low round hill; in the Poggio di Bello was found the Pietrera, a singular tomb

from which much of the jewelry, which has lent such special interest to the Vetulonian excavations, was taken. The three round chambers lined with masonry were entirely filled with earth and stones when they were discovered. This was not the work of plunderers, for only one of the chambers had been robbed. Isidore Falchi, who directed the excavations, believes that the roots of the trees which were growing on the hill above forced their way down and broke up the masonry, when the earth and rubbish fell in and filled up the void. The interior arrangements of these tombs are most remarkable, quite different from any of those I have already described. In the middle chamber, which Falchi calls the Tomba del duca, were found five huge bronze receptacles resembling cauldrons, over each of which a bronze shield was laid like a cover. The first of these contained iron objects, the second bronze, the third and fourth gold, jewelry and bronze, and the fifth bronze and silver. The number and variety of the objects in this collection renders it one of the most interesting finds made in Etruria proper and has changed many of the previous opinions on Etruscan matters. It may be said to have dealt the final blow to the German theory of the northern derivation of the nation. The round shape betokens antiquity, for though we have archaic square tombs such as the Campana, there are no cases of the round form,

so far as I know, among the tombs whose contents show that they belong to a late period. Another tomb yielding a great quantity of goldsmith's work is that called the tomb of the Lictor. A curious tomb at Vetulonia has certain points of resemblance with the so-called tomb of Isis at Vulci, on account of the directly Egyptian nature of its contents. It is not a case merely of Egyptian influence as in all the early tombs, but of definitely Egyptian objects. An image of a goddess holding a child on her knees has the inscription in Egyptian script. The goddess who speaks is Mut, the life-giver. The Poggio Gaiella near Chiusi is generally alluded to as a tumulus, but it is really a natural hill, which was taken advantage of and its interior burrowed with tombs and passages. It has been identified by some writers with the tomb of Porsenna, described by Varro. This description, as quoted by Pliny, is so extraordinary that, coupled with the fact that neither on Poggio Gaiella nor at any other spot near Chiusi are there any remains of so curious a structure, Niebuhr suspected that Varro was repeating a tradition which had exaggerated and magnified the facts out of all possibility of recognition.

Tomb of Porsenna. According to this account the monument stood on a mass of masonry three hundred feet square and fifty high, five pyramids, one at each corner and one in the middle each

seventy-five feet wide at the base and one hundred and fifty feet high, supported a brazen circle from which hung bells which rang when the wind blew. On this circle four more pyramids, each one hundred feet high, were poised, and on the top of these yet another five. Inside this fantastic pagoda-like edifice there was a labyrinth.

Whether there was ever anything resembling it at Chiusi, the spot named by Varro as its site, there are certainly no signs of it at Poggio Gaiella, where the sepulchres and passages leading to them are merely examples on a large scale of those found in similar situations all over Etruria.

If, as is most probable, there was at any rate a foundation of truth in Varro's account, more satisfactory results might be obtained by researches under what was formerly the *fortezza*, now the garden of the Palazzo Paolozzi. In the cliff below are entrances to underground passages which have not been thoroughly explored. The entire disappearance of any external signs of the monument would be more explicable here than at the Poggio Gaiella, for being in the centre of the town and the site of the medieval citadel, any relics that might have survived would have been broken up and used in the building of the fortress and surrounding houses, while at Poggio Gaiella three miles away from the modern town there would certainly, as in other deserted

sites, have been some traces of its former decorations and substratum of masonry.

Labyrinth. If we accept the theory of Mr Arthur Evans that in its origin the word labyrinth was a Greek corruption of a pre-hellenic term signifying the residence of a priest-king, and if we also accept the evidence of the inscription often quoted, which states that a high official was three times Porsenna and conclude that Porsenna was a title, not a proper name, then it may be assumed that the monument, round which such marvellous legends gathered, was a vast conglomeration of buildings combining the residence of a theocratic ruler with a sort of Walhalla or Westminster Abbey within which the Pontiffs were laid when dead. Camars was one of the great religious centres of Etruria, and might well have been the site of such a palace and place of sepulchre. The multiplication of pyramids on the monument, even if only legendary, shows the early association of the pyramidal or tumulus form with that of memorials to the dead.

Tombs in tumuli. To return to the consideration of the genuine tumuli which, as we see, are found on so many Etruscan sites, it does not appear that the tombs within them are distinguished by absolutely uniform characteristics. Though most are archaic in their mode of construction and contents, equally primitive sepulchres are found in the rock-

hewn tombs of other cemeteries. The real reason for the employment of one form or the other seems to have been the nature of the ground. Where rocky cliffs and steep declivities abounded, the tombs were cut in the rock or burrowed in the slopes, where this was not possible artificial mounds were made for them. Whatever its form or age an Etruscan sepulchre always had to be constructed beneath the ground. In this it was sharply distinguished from the Roman tombs which rise above the earth on the Campagna outside Rome.

Sculptured façades. When the tombs were burrowed in the recesses of a natural hill, or hewn in the face of a cliff, it was necessary to invent modes other than tumuli of marking the place of interment. The most striking of these are the rock-hewn façades, vestiges of which are found at Norchia, Castel d' Asso, Toscanella, Sutri, Bieda, Sovana and Cività Castellana.

In some cases the remains are so dilapidated as to present little of interest, except to an expert, but in others, such as Castel d' Asso, Bieda and Norchia, imposing relics compel the admiration even of the casual observer. In the first instance, fragments of mouldings or cornices with a few weather-worn symbols and scraps of inscriptions are all that are to be seen, while from the pedestal on either side of the door-way the crouching lion or sphinx has been

overthrown and lies prone on the ground or has entirely disappeared.

Castel d' Asso. The best preserved examples are naturally those where either natural features of the ground, such as the steep cliffs of Castel d' Asso, or the speedy abandonment of the site, or both combined, have defended the sculptures from defacement. The quality of the rock has also been a determining influence, in its power of resisting the effects of ages of exposure. The style of the sculptures varies, sometimes the exterior of a house is simulated with gables, projecting eaves and simple mouldings around the door-ways, in others the porticoes of temples with pillars, sculptured pediments and friezes are still to be seen. At Sutri the tufo of which the cliffs are made has become so weather-worn that only portions of the designs of the façades are visible. They seem to have been fairly elaborate, with columns, pilasters and pediments, but neither here nor at Cività Castellana do any really important sculptures remain; there are only tracings of carvings sufficient to show that the faces of the cliffs were formerly decorated in this way. At Cività Castellana, where the high cliffs of the glens which surround the town are honeycombed with tombs, I remarked traces of inscriptions over hollowed caverns, now used as cart stables and store places for various agricultural implements. At Falerii, the Romanized town about

three miles distant, there are some sculptured porches of rather late style, the town having been built by the Etruscans after they were driven from their ancient city Veteres, now Civit  Castellana.

Bieda. Bieda is remarkable for the house-like forms of the fa ades of many of the tombs. Where isolated blocks of rock have broken from the cliff, they have been shaped into little houses with beams, gables or wide eaves, the face of the cliff is terraced and flights of steps lead from one range of tombs to another.

Sovana. Sovana possesses a variety of forms not often found together, for usually each cemetery has a prevailing style distinguishing it from others. Sovana, though its remains show it to have been a small city, had a catholic taste in its monuments. A tomb discovered by Mr Ainsley and described by Dennis has a frieze and pediment, and an inscription in letters ten inches high. The sculpture of the pediment represents a figure which Dennis calls a mermaid. It is one frequently met with in Etruscan reliefs, having the mermaid-like characteristic of a woman's head and body with a long coiling tail, which in this case rather recalls that of a sea-serpent than the fish-like appendage of the genuine mermaid. She probably represents an Etruscan marine goddess. The sculptured cornices at Sovana are remarkable for projecting instead of receding, as do those of

Norchia and Castel d' Asso. A tomb called the Grotta Pola has a temple façade very much ruined, but enough remains to allow the explorer to remark that the pillars of the portico were spaced in the Etruscan manner and coloured. There are also a number of gabled house-fronted tombs and, as at Bieda, flights of steps lead from one terrace to another. It is at Norchia and Castel d' Asso that the most perfect specimens of sculptured façades are found. Those at Castel d' Asso excited the admiration of the early explorers as much by their situation as by the quality of their sculpture. They are found in the steep sides of a glen overgrown with wild vegetation and to reach them a scramble over rocks and through brambles was necessary. Under such circumstances the discovery of works requiring artistic skill of a high level, as well as much mechanical ability, came as a startling surprise.

They skirt the glen on each side for about half a mile, with architectural mouldings, cornices and inscriptions. The form of the square façade, slightly retreating from the base to the summit and narrowing in width towards the top, is that of the oldest tombs.

Norchia. The cemetery of Norchia is of the same type as Castel d' Asso, but there are several examples of temple façades and the sculpture is more elaborate and shows more variety of style than is to be found at Castel d' Asso. Though there are

many tombs of the archaic form, which is attributed sometimes to Egyptian, sometimes to Doric influence and probably has the same origin as both, there are tombs of distinctly later style. The cliffs are higher than those at Castel d' Asso and in one spot form a sort of amphitheatre, which increases the imposing effect of the ruined sculptures. So far as can be judged by examination of the contents and internal features of the tombs with sculptured façades, they do not mark a fixed period nor any definite artistic influence; they chiefly show, what we so often have occasion to remark, the practical nature of the Etruscan genius and their extraordinary skill in turning to account all natural features of a site and beautifying instead of defacing it. Finding the rocky cliffs ready to their hands, they tunnelled into them to make convenient resting places for the dead and then adorned their faces with the most durable and effective decoration. In this as in the choice of the sites of their cities, the culture of their plains, the regulation of the beds of their rivers and lakes, they showed an eye for beauty united to an untiring energy and artistic skill, which no nation has excelled.

Contents of tombs. Urns. Turning to the contents of the tombs we find that the long series of urns containing ashes begins with the rough earthenware jar of the early well-tombs. With these



Mosconi, photo.

EFFIGY ON SARKOPHAGUS
Chitzi

we should have nothing to do, were it not that these primitive receptacles are sometimes found in tombs where the bodies were buried intact, either in long coffin-like sarcophagi or lying clothed on stone benches or couches. In these cases they probably contained the ashes of slaves or dependents who preserved their own funeral customs, even when interred beside their masters. The hut urns which figure in all Etruscan museums are not peculiar to Etruria, they are found all over Italy and Sicily and have been found in great numbers in Egypt and many other countries. They are very early prototypes of the chamber tomb, showing the same desire in the pre-historic people who used them to identify the last resting place of man with the abode he occupied during life. The form of those found in Etruria is that of a round hut made of posts driven into the ground, the spaces filled up with wattle, an opening in front for a door and a thatched roof sloping up to a point in the middle.

Sarcophagi and Effigies. The sarcophagi in which the unburned bodies were enclosed are of terra-cotta or stone, they are ornamented with reliefs and an effigy of the dead reposes on the cover. Sometimes a male and female figure (evidently husband and wife) are represented on the same sarcophagus. As a rule they do not lie flat as in medieval effigies but lean on one elbow, in a half-

sitting position and all the details of their dress are most carefully rendered. The mundum, which many of the male figures hold in their hands, was used in sacrificial rites. Offerings to the household deities were probably made by each man in his own home. The mirrors which the greater number of the women hold are now supposed to have a somewhat similar use and not to be a mere toilette adjunct. The religious emblems and mythological scenes engraved on them show their significance. The mundum and mirror though very common are not the only objects held in the hands of the effigies; scrolls, eggs, flowers and in one case a bird are also to be seen. Whether in the former case the sacrificial vessels imply that the holders were heads of households and consequently authorized to offer to the household gods, or whether it indicated a sacerdotal dignity though of an inferior grade, does not appear. The position of women in the Etruscan family would warrant the supposition that she would share the office of sacrificing to the household gods with her husband or at any rate, if a widow, take his place.

Ash chests. The oblong chests which contained the ashes of the members of those families who practised cremation are, except in size, very similar to the long-shaped sarcophagi. These chests are often made of alabaster; at Volterra where there are alabaster quarries this is the universal material.

The effigies are naturally adapted to the size of the lid upon which they lie. This gives them a thick and stumpy appearance and their heads appear too large for their bodies.

In the later tombs they are often exceedingly fat, justifying the contemptuous remarks on the subject of some Roman writers. There is also a marked difference in the type of countenance portrayed in the effigies on the long and short sarcophagi. The former resemble the slender pointed-nosed long-eyed people of the frescoes in the painted tombs, the latter have square heads, thick necks, high-bridged noses and heavy jaws. The expression of the one is smiling and gentle, that of the other resolute and authoritative. This is not the place to trace the race problem suggested by these differing characteristics, I merely indicate their probable importance.

Reliefs. The reliefs on the long sarcophagi generally represent symbolical figures, those on the ash chests mythological scenes, events in the life of the deceased, the manner of his death, or religious subjects such as the departure of souls from this life.

In the scenes from mythology those on the later tombs are mere copies from Greek originals, uninteresting and often badly done. The names of the Greek heroes are scratched above them in Etruscan characters. The same original is copied over and

over again. These tombs date from the decadence of Etruscan art. During the flourishing period, the mythological reliefs present distinctive features; they are not copied from Greek originals, but are genuine Etruscan traditions, drawn from the same source as the Greek, but not imitated from them. The distinctive Etruscan beliefs are introduced, the winged genii and the conflict of two powers for the final possession of the soul.

On the whole, these effigies and reliefs represent rather commercial than artistic statuary, and we must not look to them for the highest expression of Etruscan genius, but they have another interest which, though less appreciated by the artist, is highly valued by the archaeologist. It is through them that we are able to form such a vivid conception of Etruscan life and manners, they give actuality to the relics scattered in the tombs. They tell us what manner of men and women wore the jewelry, used the furniture and utensils, feasted, worshipped, fought, died and were buried.

More, even, than the painted tombs do they bring the old Etruscan before us, for in them we have the likeness of the man full of individual character, dressed as in life, reclining as he was wont at meals; these figures are no idealized conceptions of the artist, but scrupulously faithful portraits, truthful, even when truth is unflattering.



Mosconi, photo.

EFFIGY ON SARCOPHAGUS
Toscanelia

Miscellaneous objects. As I have described in detail the objects found in the tombs under the heads beneath which they naturally fall, I shall deal in this chapter rather with the general considerations connected with this subject. The great variety of new material constantly coming to light, and the dispersion, over all the Museums of Europe, of many of the most important finds of past years, render any minute classification, in a work of the dimensions of the present, impossible, and a few indications only can be given to guide those who wish to form an idea of the usual contents of an Etruscan tomb. Beginning with the corpse or ashes of the dead, we find that in the first case, the body was clothed as in life and adorned with jewels, but when only ashes remained, costume and ornaments were imitated faithfully on the effigy. That the effigies were also sometimes decked with jewelry can be seen in the Chiusi Museum, where a terracotta bust still has a gold earring adhering to its ear. Warriors were either clothed in their armour or it was hung on the wall or otherwise disposed around the ash chest. Jars, vases, platters, cups and all sorts of other earthenware utensils were placed on shelves or on the floor round the tomb, and vast quantities of bronze articles of every size and description were deposited therein. One of the most curious and suggestive facts is the quantity of metal which was

placed in the tombs. We know, through allusions in classic authors, that the Etruscans were great metal-workers, but the enormous number of bronze implements buried with them is difficult to explain. It seems impossible that any departed spirit could require the vast stores contained in such tombs as those in the Pietrera at Vetulonia. The gold and silver is more easily accounted for, but except on the supposition that the chief would require to furnish an army of retainers in the after-life, such cargoes of bronze weapons and utensils would seem superfluous.

In addition to the objects on shelves or hung on the walls huge receptacles, shaped like cauldrons or enormous pails, have been found, containing thousands of small articles packed into them. These may be described as the luggage of the dead. Similar receptacles have been discovered buried in the ground, but not inside tombs, notably the great find at Bologna, where 14,800 bronze objects were found in a huge terra-cotta vase under the pavement of the Piazza S. Francesco. In this case it was suggested that a foundry existed on the spot, as some of the articles were unfinished.

Jewelry. Jewelry is naturally rarer than less portable objects of value. The greatest quantity of fine goldsmith's work yet found is that from the Prenestine tombs, Bernardina and Barberina, and the Regulini-Galassi at Cere. The mass of precious

objects they contained shows how rich a spoil the first plunderers of the cemeteries must have carried off. The technique of the work in these tombs is identical with that of the jewelry of Vetulonia and other Etruscan centres of art and culture.

Bronzes. The bronzes vary in size from the full-sized bier on wheels and the great cists and shields, to the little votive figures an inch or two in height.

The profusion of candle-sticks, thuribles and lamps are accounted for partly by the necessities of the situation, the lighting of the tombs, the burning of perfumes and also by the ritual importance given to these objects in the old religions; fire and its daughter, light, playing so large a part in the religious ceremonies of all ages.

Wreaths. The wreaths worn by the feasters in the frescoes are also often sculptured as if hanging on the walls of the mortuary chamber, and real ones were doubtless among the objects hung from the nails which yet remain fixed in the walls. The beautiful wreaths of gold and enamel found at Cere and Palestrina, and the fragments of similar wreaths found amongst the débris of many tombs, show that such imitations of nature were buried with the dead as part of the funeral equipment.

Typical Etruscan tombs. The corridor tomb in its various forms is the typical Etruscan tomb;

it was the form adopted by the nation when the primitive grave tombs became obsolete, and continued, as long as the nation retained its independence, to be their only type of sepulchre. Nevertheless, the cemeteries have local peculiarities beyond those external characteristics which I have mentioned. There is also naturally a scale of magnificence corresponding to the rank and wealth of the owners. Simple unadorned chambers, consisting of an ante-room and a principal chamber, in which the corpses or urns are ranged on stone benches or shelves, were no doubt all that the majority of modest citizens could aspire to, and the inscriptions prove that families of different names, though possibly related to each other, shared one tomb. Less elaborate are the caves in the rock of the cliffs of Cività Castellana (Veteres) and other similar sites, opening as they do directly on to the terraced pathways leading along the face of the cliff, or, as in the tombs just outside Orvieto, ranged along a kind of street on which their single chamber opens.

I have not been able to find any notice of discoveries on Etruscan sites of those common pits, where the bodies of slaves and other friendless wretches were thrown indiscriminately, which, as we read, existed on the Esquiline in the period of Rome's greatest power and prosperity. The piety of the Etruscans towards their dead and the stringency

of their laws with respect to religious observances, saved them from thus desecrating the remains even of the humblest. We have evidence that the ashes of slaves and servants were placed in the tombs of their lords, in the urns of simple form found in the most elaborate tombs along with the magnificently decked corpses of the owners, and in the rows and streets of plain, but decent, tombs which surrounded all the cities; doubtless in these last the mass of the humbler citizens found their resting places.

It was perhaps the difficulty of finding adequate space for disposing of unburned bodies, as the population increased, which led to the final adoption of cremation after many centuries, during which both modes of burial were practised. It is not possible to dogmatize on this point, but it appears that the early people of the well-tombs, where only ash urns are found, went on burning their dead, and that gradually, with their usual practical spirit, the whole nation adopted this practice. During a certain period, wealth and refinement are as obvious in the tombs where the one form is dominant, as in that of the other, with this difference that while there are plain urns with ashes in the tombs of the unburned, the contrary arrangement is never seen.

I have remarked elsewhere on the difference of type generally observable in the effigies on the long

sepulchres where unburned bodies were laid, and those on the nearly square chests in which ashes were preserved.

Grotta d' Isis. Among the tombs the contents of which present an ensemble of characteristics peculiar to themselves, is the so-called Grotta d' Isis. This was discovered at Vulci in 1840, and was reclosed after having been stripped of its contents. These were for a long time in the possession of the widow and son of Prince Lucien Bonaparte, on whose property the tomb was situated. They are now, however, in the British Museum, and are all collected and placed in one case where they can be studied conveniently. The effigies of the two ladies who were buried in the tomb are widely different. One is an archaic bust of bronze, the other a full-length marble figure about three feet high. The former is a curious specimen of early Etruscan bronze hammered work, the other is Egyptian in its straight lines and rigid attitude. The lower part of the bronze bust has three zones of embossed archaic animals which form a sort of belt round the figure, the upper part is nude except for a necklace which fits tight and high round the neck. The reliefs are in the usual order, a row of sphinxes, one of chariots and one of lions. Evidently one of the persons buried here was an Egyptian. How she came to Etruria, and what connection she had with the lady of the bust, we do not know. Her eyes

were probably gems, as they have been taken from their sockets. As might be expected, many of the objects found with the effigies are either obviously Egyptian or copied from Egyptian originals. There are six ostrich eggs, one painted with winged sphinxes like those in the Grotta Campana, i.e. an Etruscan, not an Egyptian type of sphinx. There is also a sitting figure of Isis in the form of a perfume pot and some greenish ware with hieroglyphics on the borders. The distinctively Egyptian derivation of the one effigy and the Egyptian objects surrounding it, and the Etruscan type of the other who is also surrounded by native products, show the importance which was attached to the desire to provide the soul with all that it had prized when on earth. The tomb itself has no special features, it is a corridor tomb with an antechamber and three inner rooms.

Cremation. At Chiusi (Camars) the greatest number and variety of ash chests and urns are found. Cremation was evidently popular there, though there are also many relics of the other mode of disposing of the dead. The canopës have been already noticed; their quaint ugly heads and short arms show no artistic taste, they are reproductions of some primitive type consecrated by ancestral usage. There are several figures in the museum where the canopë idea has been elaborated—the ashes are placed inside a statue. One of these of fetid limestone sits on

a throne holding an apple in her hand and her head like those of the canopës fits into a socket and can be moved up and down and from side to side. All these figures are archaic in workmanship and very ugly. There is great variety both in style and subject in the reliefs on the ash chests and many of them retain traces of the bright colours with which they were painted. One of the reliefs represents a battle between Etruscans and Gauls. The Etruscans armed and on horseback are cutting down Gauls naked except for shields on their arms, who have fallen on one knee under the cavalry charge of their opponents. A relief interesting for the peep it gives into an Etruscan lady's dressing room, is that of a lady sitting and having her hair plaited by her maid while she takes a pot containing probably perfume or cosmetic from another woman.

Among the long elaborate sarcophagi containing unburned bodies, there is one on whose cover is a lady of very dignified mien; she has a handsome necklace and appears to have been a person of importance. A combat of amazons is represented on the relief in front of the sarcophagus. On another the terra-cotta effigy, of a lady, is in the act of rising, one arm leaning on the pillow and the other pushing back a covering or sheet. The natural attitude, expressive and beautiful face and the well-modelled head show an artistic progress, which

removes it (as well as the one mentioned just before) far above the grotesque canopës and places it at the commencement of the great period of Etruscan art.

I have mentioned that the reliefs on the sarcophagi were, in common with most Etruscan sculpture, coloured. Painting on the flat was, if we may judge by what remains to us, rarely used to decorate sarcophagi.

Amazon sarcophagus. There is however in the Florence Museum a specimen, which I describe in the chapter on painting. The famous Amazon sarcophagus is of alabaster, and the wonderful state of preservation of the paintings in tempera with which it is adorned is a source of delight to the student of Etruscan art. It belongs to the period when Greek influence had touched and softened Etruscan art without depriving it of its native vigour and characteristic peculiarities.

CHAPTER IV

ARTS AND CRAFTS

CRITICISM of Etruscan art has had a tendency to fly to extremes. Enthusiasts have striven to place Etruria as the rival, if not the mistress of Greece, while depreciators deny her even the merits of a sister or a pupil. The Romans looked on her art with the contempt that Italians of the seventeenth century bestowed on Giotto and his contemporaries, and after the barbarian invasions which swamped the Roman civilization, the very memory of the Etruscans was lost and they slumbered in their tombs in an oblivion which threatened to be eternal. Not till long after the revival of learning had spread the knowledge of Greek and Latin civilization, did the darkness lift which covered every vestige of Etruscan culture. Such relics as came to hand in the early days of antiquarian research were classed as Roman, Greek, Egyptian or Phoenician, and it was not till the eighteenth century was well on its way that it began to be perceived that there

had been a school of art and fount of civilization in Italy in pre-Roman times.

A period of rather excessive praise followed during which Italian writers were inclined to claim for Etruria a pre-eminence in the arts which was challenged by later critics, especially the Germans who paid so much attention to the subject in the nineteenth century. Basing their criticism on the traces of Oriental and Greek influences in Etruscan art, they denied it all originality and branded its artists as mere copyists; wherever a work of art was found which showed original genius they decided that it was an importation or the work of a Greek immigrant. Mommsen went so far as to declare that the Etruscans were the lowest artistically among the nations of antiquity.

This school has had its day, for the discovery of centres of art at Camars (Chiusi), Cere (Cervetri), Vetulonia and Tarquinii, to mention no others, with distinctive and native peculiarities of their own, has disposed of the notion that there were no Etruscan schools of art; while the evidences of a separate line of belief and thought are shown by the types of deities, the legends forming the subjects of their paintings and sculptures, and the religious symbols worked into the decoration of every object either of ritual or ornament.

“Religion is not an article of trade like scarabs or

silver cups," remarks Basil Modestow, and it was inevitable that a people whose whole scheme of national life was bound up with their religion should manifest, in their art, a distinct and continuous evolution of the religious ideas which dominated the nation.

This does not exclude the effect which at different periods various foreign influences brought to bear on the native art, either through imported objects or immigrant artists and craftsmen; but when those influences are digested and merged in a national style, they enrich rather than overwhelm it. Such phases are necessary to all art when brought into contact with exterior influences, for without them, it becomes stereotyped and monotonous.

In its earlier developments Etruscan art has unmistakable similarities with archaic Greek, which may point to a common artistic heritage, from which each was evolved in the earliest ages. This period is quite distinct from the epoch when, with admirable technical skill but a lack of creative force, Greek masterpieces were copied and imitated with a servility indicative of the national decadence which followed subjugation by Rome. Between these periods there are the centuries of Etruscan power and glory, when the League ruled Italy and when her culture and civilization was the standard of all that was highest and greatest in the peninsula.

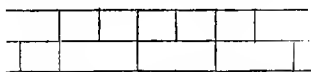
The ideal arrived at by Etruscan artists may be less high from the purely artistic point of view than that of the Greeks, but such as it was they carried it out admirably. The evolution of art under Etruscan rule appears to have proceeded on natural lines without any catastrophic intervals. The external influences, whatever they were, Egyptian, Oriental and Greek, merged harmoniously into the native style, and, while aiding its development, left its peculiar characteristics untouched. These are primarily expression and individuality. The faces in Etruscan sculpture and painting are not the faultless and inexpressive late Greek type; the features are often irregular and the countenance expresses strong and individual character. When the head is a portrait, it is what is vulgarly called a speaking likeness; when an action is represented, the artist seems to have spent himself on producing the exact grade of expression suitable to each actor.

Among the details worth noticing is a fondness for introducing small animals, dogs, monkeys or birds into paintings and reliefs. These are treated partly decoratively, partly realistically; they always fit in and add to the decorative scheme, but they have also a rather comically sympathetic attitude towards the subject represented.

Lastly, it is worth bearing in mind that, though the political existence of the Etruscans ended when

their League was finally broken up and their chief cities subdued to the yoke of Rome, their artists and craftsmen did not on that account cease to produce or to influence by their methods the Greco-Roman art which succeeded theirs in Italy. Etruscan influence did not really disappear until the great catastrophes which destroyed all the artistic centres of Europe. The part it played in the revival of the arts when, after the night of the dark ages, dawn broke in Tuscany, the heart of old Etruria, is one of the interesting artistic problems suggested by the study of Etruscan art.

Architecture and Engineering. The mortarless quadrilateral masonry of the Etruscans is the most perfect mason's work ever produced. Blocks of stone of equal size, usually 3 feet 10 by 1 foot 11, are laid side by side, by turns lengthwise and end on, in what is vulgarly called headers and stretchers, the order being reversed in the row above, so that



the short end is above, the long stone below it. No cement of any sort is used, and the exactitude with which the whole is fitted together is such that after more than 2500 years the stones are found in their places holding together by their own weight. The external face is sometimes smoothed, sometimes left



FRAGMENT OF WALL
Faltri

Moscioni, photo.

rough. In the latter case it resembles the rusticated masonry of the palaces of the Renaissance, whose architects no doubt borrowed the idea from fragments of ancient buildings.

George Dennis calls this type of masonry "emplecton"; but I am unable to comprehend his reason for doing so, as all other writers give that name to the Roman work which consisted of two facing walls of hewn stone with a space between filled up with rough stones embedded in cement. The external appearance is very like the quadrilateral, but when in the course of time the outer facing is stripped off, the rough mixture within shows in unsightly patches, whereas the true quadrilateral is as complete in its imposing massiveness to-day as when first constructed.

There is another type of wall found in the fortifications of some Etruscan towns which, though perhaps employed by the Etruscans in very early times, is not peculiar to them, being found in Greece and elsewhere. In this the stones are polygonal, fitted together with great skill, but with no order or rule in their arrangement. The oldest specimens of this form of building have been called cyclopean from the vast size of the blocks employed, which led Pausanias to attribute their construction to the mythical Cyclopes. At Ruselli near Grosseto in Maremma portions of the walls are of this masonry, some of the blocks measured by Dennis and Sir H.

Hoare being of the immense size of 12 feet. 8 by 2 feet 10, 9 feet by 6, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. Fragments of wall at Cosa and Saturnia are of the polygonal type, but the blocks are smaller and at Cosa they are smoothed externally so as to present a less rugged appearance. The attempt to keep an even horizontal course in the layers marks an evolution towards the regularity of the quadrilateral, or perfected Etruscan system. This characteristic and beautiful masonry marks the Etruscan site; it is in the walls which formed the ancient fortifications of cities that most of the surviving portions are to be found. Fragments more or less perfect can be seen in the walls of Volterra, Fiesole, Populonia, Cortona, Perugia, Chiusi, Todi, Civit  Castellana, and many others. Built into newer constructions in inhabited towns, overgrown by brushwood and blocked up with d bris on abandoned sites, it preserves nevertheless, wherever it is found, an aspect of strength and finish which cannot fail to attract the attention of whoever has an eye for beauty of architecture.

There are other peculiarities worthy of remark characteristic of the Etruscan architects in the construction of the walls of cities besides the employment of quadrilateral masonry. Middleton in *Ancient Rome*, p. 112, thus describes the so-called wall of Romulus on the Palatine:

“The very primitive date of this once massive circuit wall is shown both by the character of its masonry and by the manner in which it is set with reference to the natural line of the cliff; in both respects exactly resembling the fortifications of many very ancient Etruscan cities. The natural strength and adaptability for defence of the Palatine Hill were skilfully and with great labour much increased in the following manner. The base of the circuit wall was set neither at the foot of the cliff nor at its summit, but on an artificially cut shelf at an average distance of about 40 feet from the top. The tufo cliff above this shelf all round the circuit, where the natural contour of the rock was at all abrupt, was cut into an almost perpendicular precipice, slightly battening or sloping back towards the hill. On this long rock-cut shelf the wall was built against the face of the artificially scarped cliff, rising to the summit of the hill, and probably a little above it, sufficiently high to protect the garrison from missiles thrown from below.”

The sites of the gates of Etruscan cities can often be fixed, but unfortunately the gateways themselves have generally been destroyed. We learn from descriptions in classic writers that the ritual which was followed in founding a city prescribed the number of the gates, which had to be three, each one dedicated to a god or goddess, i.e. to Tina, Cupra

or Menvra, the three chief deities of the Etruscan mythology. There seems to have been no law against extra gates being erected where needed, but three was the minimum according to the rite.

The best preserved examples are the Porta all'Arco at Volterra, and the Arco d'Augusto at Perugia. Both have been restored in Roman times; the Arco d'Augusto bears an inscription stating that it was repaired by Augustus in 40 B.C., and at one time doubts were cast on the Etruscan origin of either; but, after minute examination, architectural experts are agreed that the masonry is in great part Etruscan in both cases, and in that of the Porta all'Arco we have peculiarities of construction of the highest interest. Both are double arches of imposing dimensions; the Porta all'Arco is nearly 30 feet deep, the height of the Arco d'Augusto not less than 70 feet.

In these, as in the other archways built by the Etruscans, we see their expertness in the construction of vaulted or arched masonry. They were probably the first in Europe to use the arch with keystone, and they developed the system, employing it for roofing and groining with a skill in which they were without rivals in antiquity. In the earliest tombs they often used a primitive mode of arching called horizontal, which consisted of layers of stones, each layer projecting a little beyond the one below it



Moscioni, photo.

ETRUSCAN BRIDGE
Erida

until they met at the top; the projecting angles were then shaped off and the appearance of an arch was produced. When they had perfected the system of the keyed or radiating arch they used it to vault tombs, passages and sewers. The Tomba del Gran Duca at Chiusi is a very perfect specimen of the barrel arch, the Cloaca Maxima at Rome is the best known example of an Etruscan sewer. The vaulting in both cases is perfect, and it is hard to believe that the date of their erection is far anterior to our era.

Scanty remains of the buildings which stood within these massive walls and gateways are left; public buildings, temples, theatres and dwelling-houses have all been levelled to the ground and in the majority of cases their materials used in the construction of later towns. In the case of temples and theatres, however, enough has survived in a few places to enable us, with the help of Vitruvius and other ancient writers, to form a tolerably distinct idea of their original state. At Civit  Castellana, the Etruscan Veteres, the remains of three temples can be seen, and at Luna and some other sites ruins and fragments of sculpture belonging to temples have been found.

The Etruscan column is a variety of the Doric. The capital is rather flat and cushioned and sometimes finished with Ionic volutes. The columns of the porticoes of the temples were not evenly spaced;

those in the centre were wider apart, and the pediment projected in advance of the columns; a projecting cornice was carried round the sides and back of the roof, forming the wide eaves which are such characteristic features in Tuscan architecture.

The statues with which the pediments were adorned were of gilt bronze or coloured terra-cotta, and a frieze in terra-cotta or stone ran round the building. Another peculiarity of the Etruscan temples was that from the eaves, slabs with reliefs of the same material as the frieze were suspended. The interior was divided at the end furthest from the entrance into three *cellae*, in each of which was the statue of a god; the walls were painted in fresco, and large windows in the *cellae* gave light to the interior. The statues of the gods faced west, so that the worshippers should always face the east. Vitruvius gives the relative dimensions of an Etruscan temple. The largest temple at Veteres was 50 metres long and 43 wide, and the *cellae* occupied about half the entire length of the building. The shape of the Etruscan temples agrees with the descriptions of the temple of Jove on the Capitol, furnishing another proof, if proof were wanted, of the Etruscan character of early Roman buildings.

The Etruscan theatres are better preserved than the temples in consequence of the seats having been hewn out of the rock or, where the ground was not

rocky, dug out in the hill-side and then lined with masonry; when ruin overtook the city the auditoriums became covered with earth and rubbish, from which the spade of the excavator exposes them almost intact. The stage and surrounding arches are in a few instances, also, sufficiently preserved to make it easy to follow the main outlines of the edifice, and among the débris portions of the ornament can be recovered.

At Ferento and Fiesole splendid ruins of theatres exist; these used to be classed as Roman owing partly to traces of restorations made after the conquest by Rome, but, though they continued to be used until the break-up of the Roman Empire, they, as well as the majority of theatres on Etruscan sites, are of Etruscan construction. When we remember that Livy and all other Latin authors agree in ascribing the introduction of stage plays in Rome to Etruscan actors, we shall admit the absurdity of attributing the building of theatres in Etruscan towns to the Romans. Long before the Roman conquest the Etruscans had their national theatre, and even in the case of Falerii, where the inhabitants of the Etruscan city of Veteres were constrained to build a new city after having been driven out of their own, the theatre built by Etruscans after Etruscan rules can in no sense be regarded as a Roman building.

The ruins at Sutri are those of an amphitheatre, which was probably used for those athletic sports, games and races of which the painted tombs give us such lively representations. Nothing has been found to warrant the suspicion that the Etruscans indulged in the bloodthirsty spectacles beloved by the Romans. Contests of strength and agility, dances and races always accompanied by music, are the recreations which are represented again and again in their painting and sculpture. The passion for savage and bloody exhibitions grew up with the domination of an army ceaselessly fighting with uncivilized enemies, and the final intermixture of barbarian slaves and soldiers with the population of the capital produced a populace combining the native cruelty of the savage with the unwholesome thirst for violent excitement characteristic of decadent civilizations.

The barbarous love of size for its own sake, characteristic of the decadent Romans and of all vulgar minds, never prevailed among the Etruscans; their theatres, like their temples, are of moderate dimensions, they adapted their means to the end in view. Massive strength was employed where necessary in city walls, gateways and foundations, but lightness and grace where convenience and suitability were demanded. Bathing establishments were as essential to the Etruscan idea of comfort as to that of the Romans, but the *Bagni Etrusci* were genuine

bathing-houses of moderate size, not Brobdignagian unions of baths, clubs, gymnasia and promenades, like the baths of Caracalla, Diocletian and Titus, covering acres of ground, absorbing millions of treasure, and filled, judging by what we know of Roman taste at the time, with gaudy coloured marbles, copies of celebrated Greek statues, an ostentatious display of wealth and luxury, a chaos of good, bad and indifferent art, in little better taste than the court of an international exhibition to-day.

We should know little about the domestic architecture of the Etruscans without the evidence of their tombs. Vitruvius gives us a few indications, describing the *Atrium Tuscanicum*, or Etruscan Courtyard, in contrast to other forms of the same class of building, but it is to the corridor tombs that we owe a really definite picture of an Etruscan house. One of their salient features explains their complete disappearance. Though the tombs are invariably stone and often hewn in the rock, the care with which quite unnecessary beams feigning to support the roofs, and carved timber ceilings and gables are imitated, show that wood was largely used in the houses from which they were copied. We can imagine, once the enemy was within the walls, how speedily a conflagration would spread among these fragile and combustible structures. The plan of the house was a courtyard with the eaves of the sloping roof resting

on cross-beams, forming a kind of verandah or covered passage round a tank in the middle, into which the rain water from the roof fell. No doubt this *Atrium* occupied the place of the Spanish *Patio*, a sort of open air sitting-room for the family, in which the women and children passed most of their days. The rooms opened off this central court or hall, and were connected with it and each other by passages or arcades. The apartments of various members of the family were probably grouped round smaller courts, and thus the wealthy Etruscans added court within court to the simple original plan.

As the wide eaves, so characteristic of Tuscan architecture, are manifestly a survival, so possibly are the loggias and terraced roofs. Indeed in several frescoes, portions of loggias are observable. We can therefore reconstruct the Etruscan house by these traces, and picture it a mixture of the Spanish and Italian, the *Patio* of the one, the *Loggia* of the other, the terraced roof common to both.

There are however two points in which, for comfort and hygiene, the Etruscans were far in advance of their medieval imitators and not behind the latest improvements of our luxurious age. Their houses were heated throughout by systems of hot pipes, and the sanitary arrangements were not inferior to ours to-day.

Under an Etruscan town networks of sewers and

pipes are found, and those who have in some instances traced out their plan and followed their ramifications tell us that they are adjusted with scientific exactitude and show that the conveniences both for drainage and heating were entirely according to systems which we imagine to have been invented in the last century. The examination of the drainage of Etruscan towns leads us to the consideration of another branch of activity in which this people excelled. As engineers they had no equals in the ancient world. Italian engineers who are constantly coming across portions of their work in the construction of railways, or reconstruction of canals, drains and roads are unanimous in their praise and admiration of the ancient workers.

Wherever a marshy plain hindered agriculture and spread disease, Etruscan engineers rendered it healthy and fertile; they regulated the beds of rivers to avert floods and drained lakes to increase the area of cultivation. The desolate and swampy Maremma, the unhealthy and barren parts of the Campagna, the marshy valleys of the Po and Arno were rendered, by engineering works of marvellous extension and science, gardens of fertility, supporting millions of inhabitants. The system they adopted was exactly suited to a mountainous country whose rivers were apt to descend with overwhelming impetus, when storms in the mountains suddenly filled them with

volumes of water. Canals were made which carried the water first to stretches of flat land, where it left its fertilizing deposit and was then drained off by a secondary system, thus avoiding the waste of washing away into the sea what might render the land more fertile, and also preventing the dangers of bursting dykes through sudden rushes of storm-water, carrying desolation to villages and crops. Such elaborate systems naturally required constant care, and it was part of the agricultural laws prescribed by the Books of Ritual to keep them in repair. With the destruction of the League and the non-observance of its laws, these vast tracts of country fell back into desolation.

The case of the lakes drained by the Etruscans was different; not being subject to sudden torrents these works were done, for the most part, once for all. The canals by which the Alban Lake was drained are still to be seen complete, and are entirely Etruscan. Livy's account must have been taken from a tradition in which the augur was made to play a part flattering to Roman vanity, while it concealed the true authors of the triumph of engineering skill. A lake between Signa and Prato near Florence was drained by cutting through Monte Gonfalini, and a number of small lakes in the volcanic district of Italy were emptied in the same way.

In the matter of communications, the Romans

have also stepped into their predecessors' shoes. We hear much of the perfection of Roman roads, but though these roads were carried on by Roman conquerors doubtless with Etruscan workmen all over Europe, the admirable system was perfected by the Etruscans in Etruria, for their own use and benefit, while they were the owners and rulers of the land. I cannot find a better description of an Etruscan road than Sir R. Burton gives in *Etruscan Bologna*, so I will take the liberty of quoting it.

"Seeing this fragment of Etruscan road at Misanello, we can easily understand that the Romans borrowed their paved roads, like their monuments, from the Etruscans..... The breadth of the thoroughfare is 14 metres, and the largest slabs which are mixed with pebbles exceed a square yard. The pavement shows no ruts, as if the *Biga* (chariots) were confined to the outside of the Enceinte, still the rule in many Dalmatian cities. The broad central line is flanked by pathways on either side, the conveniences so common in Roman 'High Streets' and suggesting, as at Salona and Damascus, triple gateways to North and South, perhaps to East and West. The deep flank drains have orifices to gather the rain water, and the middle is scientifically *Bombé*. The two bands of large square detached blocks which, disposed at regular intervals, run across the road are usually explained as the *Cippi*,

used for mounting horses when stirrups were unknown; and others remark that the spaces allowed the passage of carriage wheels. I would look upon them as the substitute for bridges in muddy weather, resembling on a grand scale those of Pompeii and of the modern cities of the nearer East. The same kind of unbuilt, unarched bridges are still remarked by visitors to Albanian Skodra."

The remains of bridges at Bieda, Vulci, Veii, Civit  Castellana and Santa Marinella contain portions of undoubtedly Etruscan masonry, and, though broken and repaired over and over again, they show that at an epoch when historians tell us the Romans constructed none but wooden bridges the Etruscans made structures of this description as solid as their city walls.

Sculpture. The Etruscan sculptors did not employ marble, the most durable and beautiful material for sculpture, but worked in stone, alabaster and terra-cotta. Until recently the effigies, sarcophagi and sculptured ornaments or tombs were almost the only specimens of Etruscan sculpture that were known. Latterly, however, a great number of friezes and fragments of pediments and other decorations of temples have been found and pieced together and have much increased the field of observation. The Etruscans were also past masters in the art of casting bronze and some fine statues which by a

happy chance have escaped the melting pot have been discovered. The effigies and reliefs in tombs may be considered to belong to the inferior class of commercial art and though intensely interesting and important from the light they cast on Etruscan manners and customs, costumes and types of countenance, they are hardly conclusive specimens of the highest efforts of the sculptor's art. The deficiency of marble in Italy, for the Carrara quarries were only worked in Roman times, induced the Etruscans to put all their genius into perishable terra-cotta, which was easily smashed to atoms in the sacking of their cities by the Romans. The mausoleums of their great men seem to have shared the fate of the temples, for of such national monuments as that of Lars Porsenna, not a vestige remains. We are therefore deprived of most of the materials necessary for a complete study of Etruscan sculpture.

Though their statuary was easily destroyed, the Etruscans practised another method of sculpture which defies the devastating hand of man. The rock-hewn façades of the tombs in the south-western district of Etruria proper are memorials which the wear and tear of centuries has not effaced. Their resemblance to similar tombs in Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Lycia has been noticed by Modestow and other writers, and quoted in support of the opinion that Asia Minor was the original home of the Etruscans.

The receding cornices found at Castel d' Asso and Norchia are regarded by Fergusson as a proof of Eastern origin. These façades do not emulate the stupendous creations of the Egyptians and Babylonians; like all other Etruscan works of art they do not seek impressiveness in size, but aim rather at grace and adaptation to the special needs of the place which they adorn or to the object in view when they were executed. Besides sculpturing in the living rock, the Etruscans used various sorts of stone for statues, friezes, steles and cippi. To give an account of the gradual development of the art from the early archaic reliefs, down to those where Greek influence is triumphant, is quite beyond the scope of this book. It is a work which is awaiting a competent artistic critic, for the materials once so scarce are accumulating and will one day repay the time and labour necessary for the task. The earliest reliefs consist for the most part of symbolic representations. The lotus flower, the double volute, the dolphin, the face with serpent hair, the rampant beasts, lions, calves, griffins, winged horses and sphinxes and those mysterious figures, the shrouded gods, form an inestimable series of stone documents for the study not only of art but of the derivation of primitive religious ideas.

After these primeval subjects of decoration come those processions of priests, warriors, fabulous beasts



FRAGMENT OF RELIEF

Chalcedon
Chalcedon
Chalcedon
Chalcedon

and chariots, following each other in bands or zones, the earliest all in profile, rigid and slim, ordered after rules strictly obeyed, which gradually give place, in the later works, to scenes from real life, myth and legend, treated with freedom and copied from nature. The evolution from the archaic Stela of Larthi Aninies in the Florence Archaeological Museum to the lovely bronze Minerva in the same Museum takes us across the whole field of Etruscan sculpture. Stone statues of gods and goddesses are rare; those that exist like the Thufitha in the Florence Museum are generally seated in formal pose with hands spread flat on knees. A female figure has sometimes a child on her lap, a prototype of the Madonna in the churches to-day.

A relief in the Chiusi Museum represents a scene from real life which has been explained by Com. Gamurrini as a representation of an Etruscan wedding. Unfortunately, only the upper part of the relief is left, but it shows two persons holding a fringed canopy over three others, the bride, bridegroom and father of the bride. The bridegroom holds the dress of the bride in his hand and seems to draw her towards him, while the father makes a gesture of assent with his hand. A priest with a branch of some tree, possibly the bay, i.e. the classic laurel, stands behind the bridegroom, while with their faces turned the other way as if preparing to

lead a procession are two figures, a musician playing on a pipe followed by another with branch in hand and queer head-dress. On the other side of the cippus is a house-door, and at one end are three people apparently fulfilling some religious ceremony, in which one presents another with a piece of money. These sculptures are carved with a good deal of liveliness in the action, and skill is shown in the sharpness of the relief; the cippus which it decorates was carved into the form of a temple.

In terra-cotta the progress from archaic to later work follows the same lines. The hideous canopës of Chiusi, and the figures like jointed dolls in which the ashes of the deceased are concealed, develop into fine recumbent statues with striking portrait heads. A number of fragments of the frieze of a temple were found at Poggio Buco, the ancient Statonia near Pitigliano, in Maremma. They are of early date but show an art already free from the rudeness of primitive efforts. Griffins, stags, horsemen and chariots march in procession or gallop wildly within a border of meanders and egg pattern. The griffins and stags are of the Etruscan type like those on the vases of red ware and on the doors and roofs of the tombs at Tarquinii. The horsemen on their galloping steeds are modelled with spirit and knowledge; the clinging attitude of the rider of a bare-backed mount is admirably rendered. The chariot horses are

harnessed, as in other Etruscan reliefs, with notable differences from the Greek usage. The relief is low and traces of colour remain, which here as elsewhere show the universal use of colour by the Etruscans on their sculpture. Terra-cotta reliefs of similar design have been found at other places, notably at Toscanella and at Cervetri. Pellegrini sees Attic influences in the slender forms of the human beings, the long-barrelled horses and the shapes of helmets and chariots. The curved staff carried by the priest who leads the procession in the Toscanella frieze is entirely Etruscan in shape, being quite unknown in Greek art.

In the Naples Museum are the remains of a number of friezes found at Velletri and carefully restored by Prof. G. P. Borgia. Their original colours were intact when discovered, but have faded since; they were, however, copied at once so that a clear impression of their original appearance is preserved. They are of a more perfected art than those of Toscanella and Poggio Buco. In one, chariot races are represented and the figures both of drivers and horses are excellent in action and modelling; the men have the long reins wound round their arms and lean forward as they guide horses wildly rushing with streaming manes and tails; another relief has warriors galloping, holding shields; another, feasters reclining on couches with musicians standing, playing pipes beside them.

Many groups of figures once adorning the pediments of temples have been recovered and pieced together. Some of these are very fine; those in the Florence Museum, found at Luni, are of late date, as this part of Etruria verging on the Ligurian territory was not occupied by the Etruscans in early times. They are in coloured terra-cotta and full of life and movement; the border in archaic winged figures contrasts curiously with the realistic treatment of the groups, and shows the adherence of the Etruscans to certain hieratic forms at a late date.

The bronze statues in the Vatican, Louvre and Florence Museum I describe in the chapter on bronzes. Apart from the technical excellence, which as in all Etruscan bronzes is admirable, these works show the same characteristics which are visible in other statuary belonging to the most highly developed period of Etruscan art. Beyond the liveliness of the portraiture there is not much to be learnt about sculpture, strictly so-called, from the effigies on the sarcophagi. Some are dignified, gracefully draped and naturally posed, but in the greater number all the attention of the sculptor has been concentrated on the head. To make a good portrait of the deceased seems to have been the chief aim, and in some cases the head appears to have been fitted to a body made by a mere artizan, so clumsy are the limbs and so devoid of artistic skill is the attitude.



Moscioni, photo.

FRESCO IN TOMBA DI POLIFEMO
Corneto

In the long tombs, where the bodies are buried entire and the effigy is of the tall slender type, this is not so often the case; it is commoner in those later times when cremation seems to have prevailed over the other mode of burial and the thick-set large-jowled figures are predominant.

The care taken about preserving the likeness enables us to recognize these two types of countenance, one with long eyes slightly raised at the corners, pointed nose and chin and smiling and gentle expression, the other with high-bridged nose, heavy jaw, broad forehead and resolute expression. The first has more affinity with the models of the painters of the frescoed tombs, the last with one of the types seen in Roman portraits and found in Italy to this day.

Painting. The paintings of Etruscan artists show much decorative feeling and they possessed the power of illustrating an incident and expressing action or emotion very perfectly. The most characteristic specimens of their work are to be found in the painted tombs, for the painted vases, even when executed in Etruria, are so completely Greek in all technical details, being in fact generally mere copies of Greek originals, that they prove little except the skill of Etruscan workmen as copyists. Many experts have considered all the vases to be either imported, or made by Greeks working in Italy,

but this view has been modified by fuller examination and it is now generally believed that there were centres of production in Etruria where native artists worked, always however inspired by the Greek models from which they learnt the art. Without long study and attention it is not possible to distinguish the peculiarities which divide the one from the other with absolute certainty. As the study involves questions which touch the ceramic rather than the pictorial art I will not touch on it here. The paintings in tombs and temples are all in fresco, not in tempera, that is to say the colour was laid on the wet stucco and dried with it. The largest number of painted tombs are those at Tarquinii, the Etruscan Tarchne, where the necropolis is full of them and where they form a series representing the art from a very early period till the final destruction of the city. This is the only site where many have been found, yet it is probable that the custom was general in the rich and prosperous cities of Etruria proper, for the painted tombs at Veii, Chiusi, Vulci, Orvieto, Vetulonia and Bomarzo, though few in number, represent all periods and styles, and seem to prove that wealthy citizens, without distinction of place or time, employed painters to decorate their tombs in this manner. Jules Martha divides the painting into three periods, which he denominates the archaic, the severe, and the free.

In the first, the figures are of Egyptian rigidity, in profile, and the sexes are distinguished by the colour of the flesh, the men being painted dark red and the women white; the animals are heraldic monsters and the oldest symbols are worked into the backgrounds and ornamental borders. A decorative scheme is aimed at and all representations of animal and plant life are strictly conventionalized. In the second, the conventions are less severe though still observed, there is a much closer observation and following of nature in the figures, the movement and action is accurately rendered and the faces, though still in profile, are lifelike and full of expression. At this period a greater variety of colours was used and the elaboration of details carried very far; in fact all the qualities of Etruscan art at its best are to be found in paintings of the second style. The third period marks the perfecting of technical ability with a corresponding loss of originality. The latest paintings show Greek freedom and knowledge in treatment; the difficulties of fore-shortening are overcome, anatomical perfection is attained but there is a lack of interest similar to that which makes us turn with a sigh of relief from the artistic *tours de force* of Giulio Romano and his compeers to the sublime simplicity of Giotto. There can be no doubt that the second class belongs to the best period of Etruscan art.

The unfavourable conditions under which these frescoes have existed for long centuries make it truly surprising that so much of their original colour and clearness of outline remains, but doubtless the painters, taking into consideration that it was to be the fate of their works to be buried underground and exposed to the accidents of damp and foul air, took precautions in the preparation of their materials. The fact remains that, after resisting the neglect of more than twenty centuries, they appear, when not wantonly injured, to bear the admission of light and air without further serious injury. Mrs Gray, Dennis and others who visited many of the tombs soon after their discovery more than fifty years ago, remark regretfully that soon all but the memory of their decoration will be lost, as the colours are sure to fade and disappear under the action of the air. Except in a few cases, nothing of the sort has happened; the only difficulty in the way of inspecting every painting described by these writers is the very inefficient means for lighting those tombs to which no light can be admitted from the open air. To form any just estimate of the value of the paintings they must be personally examined; the copies are taken under such disadvantages that they convey only the general scheme and arrangement, nothing of the beauty or charm either of colour or expression is reproduced. The Campana tomb at

Veii is decorated with very interesting frescoes. Notwithstanding the action of damp and darkness during ages, these are still visible when the eye gets used to the gloom. They are archaic in style and are indeed the oldest frescoes yet found in Etruria. The usual plan is followed of two schemes of decoration, an upper and a lower, separated by a horizontal band. In this case the band is of the lotus pattern. Long-legged high-crouped horses led by naked soldiers are mounted by small riders, and queer shaped dogs, leopards and a pony trot alongside. A species of sphinx is being pushed from behind by a leopard which sits up on its haunches and another walks forward hanging out a long tongue. These queer beasts are as odd in colour as in form, being parti-coloured, black, yellow and red and spotted all over without the least regard to nature. The flesh of the human beings is painted deep red. All around and about, the background is filled in with the double volute symbol of fertility. The artist of these strange paintings possessed a certain sense of decorative arrangement, notwithstanding his very primitive technique. The design is evidently a conventional and traditional representation of the passage of the soul from this world to the next. Certain types and symbols, from which the artist is forbidden to stray, are depicted and the only colours used, black, red and yellow, have doubtless their

meaning from the strange and apparently capricious way in which they are used.

In such tombs as the Grotta delle Inscrizione and Grotta del Barone at Tarquinii we have examples of the gradual evolution of the severe primitive conventions. The style is still more or less archaic, but games, dances, races and sports are represented. Trees of a formal decorative type are used to divide the groups, the dark red flesh of the men, which in earlier works serves to distinguish the sexes, becomes paler; more colours are used, the forms of horses, panthers and dogs become less fanciful, and though sphinxes, winged horses, griffins and other fabulous beasts are introduced, there is a clear inclination towards an imitation of nature. The frescoes of the so-called Camera del Morto at Tarquinii are in the intermediate style, when convention was beginning to cede to the desire for more freedom in design. We have the traditional panthers and lions but in addition there is a scene from real life represented with the stiffness and naïveté of pre-Giottesque Italian art, joined to great spirit in the action and portrayal of emotion. An old man stretched on a couch of severe but correct style has evidently just expired, a young woman is drawing a hood over his face and a man arranges a covering over his feet; two other men, one at the foot the other at the head of the couch, stand in strange poses, they raise one

hand to the head and one leg is lifted and crossed over the other, as if they were about to begin a dance. On the other wall are a couple of men dancing to the sound of the pipes, which one of them plays while he dances. One of the dancers holds a chaplet in his hand and other chaplets hang round the walls. This probably represents a ceremonial dance which formed part of the funeral celebrations. We see here an artist striving with imperfect knowledge to represent a realistic scene of grief and movement and succeeding in conveying his meaning with surprising skill, bound as he is by the conventions of early art.

A tomb in which archaic style merges into the severe or middle period is the so-called Monkey tomb at Chiusi. Here athletes whose attitudes recall those of the Knossos frescoes are represented with much vigour and freedom of movement, chariot-races and a horse which seems to be doing circus tricks follow each other all round the walls, which are in this, as in almost all the painted tombs, divided horizontally into two bands forming an upper and a lower decorative scheme. Beside the entrance, there is the portrait of a lady looking on at the sports. She is comfortably seated with her feet on a footstool and holds a parasol over her head, and her appearance and occupation are so modern that it is with a shock that one realizes that the contests

she is looking on at were decided over 2,000 years ago. Among the other figures are two men playing at Morra¹ and the tenseness of their attitudes is accurately copied from nature, exactly as one can see them to-day, when a group of youths at a festa begin to play that time-honoured but now forbidden game. A monkey chained to a bush and looking out from the wall with apish malice is an example of the love of the Etruscans for quaint adjuncts.

The tombs of the Triclinio, Scrofa Nera, Francesca, Querciola and Bighe at Tarquinii, and Colle Casuccini at Chiusi, to name only a few taken at random from the number uncovered up to the present date, represent the best period. In these the scheme of two bands one above the other divided by an ornamental border is followed, dancers, male and female, trip with a graceful verve that recalls the boleros and fandangos of the Andalusian peasants. As they dance they accompany themselves with pipes and castenets or merely by clapping their hands. The women are clad in long diaphanous garments which sway with the movement of their bodies and they wear sandals and necklaces; the

¹ The game of Morra consists of a sudden gesture by both players, who each throw out one hand, with one or more fingers extended and at the same instant cry a number which if it tally with the number of fingers shown wins a point to the crier.

men are barefoot and wear a short tunic. None of the dancers have anything indecorous, like the satyr-like gambols represented on some of the Greek vases. Chariot-races and horse and foot-races, athletic sports, gymnastic feats, boxing, wrestling, cestus-playing and various games such as draughts, quoits, knuckle-bones, morra and others not identified, are among the spectacles which are being watched by spectators in grand-stands, differing little from those on a modern race-course. Small animals such as dogs, cats, monkeys and young leopards gambol or lie around and ducks, geese, peacocks and other birds fill up spaces in the composition. Either above or below these a banquet is usually represented; guests crowned with wreaths are half-reclining before tables on which cups and plates, fruit and eggs are placed. Men and women feast together, no invidious distinctions as to sex, such as the Greeks observed, were made by the Etruscans. Musicians accompany the festivity and servants run to and fro bearing amphoras of wine and dishes of food. Though only fruit and eggs are on the tables we need not conclude that the Etruscans eschewed meat, for in a tomb at Orvieto the kitchen is portrayed, where the cook is in the act of cutting a joint from the carcase of an animal hung from the beams of the ceiling. Pliny tells us that it was the custom at funeral feasts to make speeches commemorating the virtues of the

deceased and the expression on the faces of some of the convives accords very well with this ceremony. The wreaths or flowers they hold in their hands have probably a symbolical meaning. Wreaths, either made of artificial flowers and leaves in gold and silver, enamels and precious stones or merely painted or sculptured on the walls, are never absent from the tombs.

The religious scenes are generally representative of the passage of the soul to another world, or of sacrifices. Winged figures, prototypes of the guardian angels of medieval art, attend and support the departed spirit and protect him from forbidding shock-headed demons. Charun armed with a mallet and a winged genius holding a torch accompany the cortège.

Mythological subjects are rarely found in the painted tombs; there are however a few in which the names of the gods and heroes are written in Etruscan characters over the figures.

Some that have been so interpreted can also be regarded as representing the last scene of the life of the dead.

Hunting scenes are common and the wild boar and the deer are pursued with spears, clubs and swords, and dogs assist in the chase.

The painted tomb of the Sette Camine at Orvieto is reproduced in the garden of the Florence Museum.

Not only the dining table and guests but the kitchen with the cooks preparing the feast are represented. The bodies of the animals hang as in a butcher's shop to-day and the attendants bustle to and fro. Grapes are on the table and amphoras of wine are being carried by servants. Pipers accompany the feast and even cheer the labours of the cook in the kitchen.

A processional arrangement of the figures was usual, especially in the early tombs; in this respect all the early works of art whether in stone, terra-cotta, bronze, gold or silver have a similar convention. The decorative use of trees, cypress and myrtle for choice, dividing the compositions vertically, is characteristic; borders of meanders, lotus, volutes and other patterns run below and above.

It is difficult to see these paintings clearly enough to form a just idea of their value, owing to the darkness of the tombs and the dim flickering light of the candles of the guides. It is much to be wished that portable electric lanterns could be used not only in the interests of the visitors but of the frescoes themselves which run continual risk through the smoky guttering candles being held close to them.

The Etruscans rarely painted in tempera; an alabaster sarcophagus from the Tarquinii in Florence Museum, on which is painted in tempera a battle

of Amazons and warriors, is the only complete work of the kind existing. The power of the Etruscan artist to convey expression is exemplified here. It belongs to a rather late period and might be classed as the work of an inferior Greek artist were it not for the wonderful expressiveness of the countenances; in each combatant the exact grade of expression suited to the action portrayed is conveyed by the simplest methods. The look of excited daring on the Amazon charioteers as they drive their chariots to the contest and the harrowed distracted faces of the men who strike down their female antagonists are inimitable and relieve the scene of the repulsiveness which the Greeks with all their perfection of technique could not banish from it. Again the reproach in the glance of the flying Amazon who turns on her horse as the warrior strikes at her could not be more vividly conveyed; though obviously defeated the Amazons are in no case being dragged along or trampled on.

The Etruscan artists in their best period do not seem to have had much love of indecent representations; only in quite decadent times do obscenities become popular. The vases show the most examples of this class of composition, but they are copied from the Greek. The false prudery of Roman writers who saw indecency in the mingling of the sexes at banquets and the relative freedom of Etruscan women,



Bregi, photo.

FRAGMENTS OF BRONZE GROUP FROM CHIANCIANO
Etruscan Museum, Florence

does not carry much weight considering what we know of Roman sexual morality, and the charge that they were waited on at banquets by naked handmaids is not borne out by the frescoes where all the female figures are fully clothed. Even the dresses of the dancing girls might be copied with advantage by ballet dancers of all ages.

The grotesque and terrifying element which is present in the early frescoes as in all primitive art diminishes and vanishes in the finest period; to return only in decadent times as a meaningless caricature of what was at first a symbolic bowing before the great forces of nature.

Without venturing on appreciations, the value of which newer discoveries would probably destroy, I think I may hazard the opinion that the direction in which to look for light on the origin and developments of Etruscan painting is towards Crete. A comparison of the frescoes of the palace at Knossos with those of the early tombs is both interesting and instructive and may lead to conclusions more satisfactory than the confusing jumble of Egyptian, Phoenician and Greek analogies which are often served up as sops to our curiosity without offering a real solution of any problem.

Bronzes. The mixture of copper and tin which we call bronze was a very early invention of mankind. The Etruscans celebrated in antiquity as metal

workers have left vast numbers of bronzes of all descriptions. The reputation of the Phoenicians as bronze workers which archaeologists once sustained has been reduced in proportion and we know them now chiefly as the sea-carriers of the ancient world. Professor Milani connects the Etruscan craftsman with the Cretan dactyls, the legendary inventors of metal-working, who according to Greek artistic tradition formed a corporation of artisans which had its centre on Mount Ida in the heart of the island of Crete. Milani compares them to the Cosmati, the famous corporation of mosaic workers of the Middle Ages. The art as it is represented in Etruscan tombs is already far advanced and not only weapons, ornaments and utensils of all sorts, but statuettes, busts and statues occur in a gradually progressive series, from the queer little votive figures like the Noah's Ark men of our childhood to fine statues such as the Minerva and the Orator in Florence.

The art of casting in moulds was very early practised and was used for these figures, but very curious specimens made of plates of hammered bronze, the different parts joined by rivets, are found in various parts of Etruria. The bust of a lady from the Grotta d' Isis now in the British Museum is made in this way. The plates are held by pins on a wooden foundation, the far from beautiful face is hammered from inside and long stiff curls of thin

strips of metal curled like shavings hang from two nails behind her ears. Though hammered work was probably an earlier method of treating bronze than casting, it by no means ceased or even became less common with the improvement of the latter art. The smith and the founder continued to work side by side, and up to our own day some of the most beautiful metal work is hammered, not cast. In the case of utensils both methods may be employed in one object, a vase or ewer with a hammered body having cast handles and ornaments riveted on to it. Armour was generally hammered but weapons such as spear-heads and sword blades were also moulded. The skill of the early coppersmiths is equal to that of the goldsmiths whose work I shall treat in a following chapter. The beauty of all such work, coming as it does from the absolute harmony of eye and hand and demanding a union of mental and manual activity and necessitating sudden individual adaptations to meet variations in the metal under the hand, gives almost more pleasure to a taste sensitive to artistic technique than any other handicraft.

Most of the large and many of the smaller masterpieces of Etruscan bronze-work have long ago been melted down and are lost to us for ever. We read of two thousand bronze statues carried off to Rome from Velznas (Orvieto) when it was taken by

the Romans. Not one of these has survived. The hope may always be cherished that excavators on hitherto untouched sites may bring us some addition to the scanty number discovered so far. The beautiful Minerva in the Florence Museum was found near Arezzo in 1554 and the one in the Louvre fished up out of the mud below high water mark in the sea at Piombino, near the Etruscan port of Populonia. The Orator (also at Florence) was found at San-guimeto near Lake Trasimene in 1556, and the Chimaera was dug up at Arezzo in the same year as the Minerva. There are now in Florence some beautiful fragments of what must have been a fine group of a chariot with horse and driver found at Chianciana and belonging to a statue of Diana Silene. The portions which survive are so exquisitely and delicately modelled that one cannot sufficiently regret the loss of the whole work. The Chimaera was restored by Benvenuto Cellini; it has an inscription in Etruscan characters TINSCVIL, but whether that was the Etruscan name of such a creature, who shall say? The bronze wolf of the capitol used to be classed as Etruscan but doubts have been cast on its antiquity and some authors, among them Melani¹, regard it as a medieval copy of a destroyed ancient bronze.

There are two quaint little bronze boys in the Vatican who are attired in necklaces with a bulla

¹ *Manuale di scultura antica e moderna.*



Alinari, photo.

ORATOR

Etruscan Museum, Florence

attached and no other clothing, and have each an Etruscan inscription one on his leg and the other on his arm. They are thought to be votive images. One comes from the tomb of the Veluna at Tarquinia, the other who holds a bird in his hand was found elsewhere.

Little bronze ships are very common in the tombs and remind one of the Egyptian death ships. One which came from the Tomba del Duca at Vetulonia has been minutely described by Prof. Milani who considers it a most important specimen for the study of Etruscan religious origins. It has a number of small animals, lizards, moles and mice modelled on the bulwarks, two oxen stand amidships with a yoke which crosses the ship from one side to the other. The figurehead is a stag's head with a nimbus of rays around it and forward on the poop is a queer little two-faced figure, the lower part of whose body consists of four pilasters joined into one column. Prof. Milani finds in this a resemblance to the oldest idol of Apollo adored at Amyclae in Laconia and the little figures on the bulwarks are, he remarks, creatures sacred to Apollo.

Votive objects in bronze are found wherever a temple or a shrine existed. The great find on Monte Falterona consisted of hundreds of little figures many of them made with the deformities or injuries for the cure of which the givers had visited the

shrine. There is a stiff traditional form in which all these little votive figures are made. The Falterona collection was unfortunately allowed to go out of the country and is now in the Museum of the Hermitage at St Petersburg. The receptacle containing fourteen thousand eight hundred bronze objects found under the Piazza St Francesco at Bologna is by some regarded as the treasury of a shrine, but the more probable opinion is that it consists of the plant of a bronze-foundry hidden during the Gallic invasion. The fact that there are moulds and lumps of unworked bronze amongst the rest seems conclusive.

The bronze mirrors found in nearly every tomb have merited special works written on their art and significance. I cannot go into the question here. The effigies of Etruscan ladies generally hold one in the hand. At one time it was thought that they were merely toilet adjuncts but this view has had to be abandoned. They are now admitted to have a religious significance. In shape they are the same as the hand-glass we use to-day; the disk was polished on one side and on the other a scene, generally mythological, was engraved. Another and less simple form has a case which is ornamented in relief but these are much rarer. They are about six or seven inches in diameter, the edges are sometimes turned up and the handle is attached by rivets. The designs vary from the rudest scratchings on metal disks to



Brogi, photo.

BRONZE WARRIOR
Etruscan Museum, Florence

the most artistic and finished specimens of the engraver's art, with elaborately decorated handles sometimes silvered, but the Etruscan mirrors were not inlaid with precious stones as were later Roman ones.

The cists or caskets are oval or round boxes of the same shape as our biscuit boxes and are decorated either with engraved designs or reliefs. They usually have bands running round forming two or more schemes of decoration. The handles are cast and soldered on and are sometimes in the shape of human figures. The collection of bronzes in the Gregorian Museum at the Vatican is most important, including as it does the most beautiful specimens of cists and candelabra. The tall candlesticks found in most of the tombs have been imitated for altar candlesticks all through the ages; beautiful pedestals for little lamps have every variety of ornamental device. In the Florence Museum are some with little birds perched on the edge of the receptacle for oil or perfume, on one a tiny monkey chases a bird up a slender stem, in another a female holds the lamp on her head. Lanterns and thuribles with highly ornamented chains, saucers for burning perfumes and tripods supporting basins, repay minute inspection, from the ingenious variations and delicate fancy bestowed on their fabrication. A form of thurible with a moveable cover is found in great

numbers at Vetulonia, the chains and swivels are all highly ornamented.

Huge cauldrons with heads of griffins or serpents projecting from the rim all round are very numerous, they seem to have served as receptacles for storing the objects left for the use of the dead, but of the meaning of the circle of heads I have not seen any explanation. Fragments of body armour, much of it exquisitely modelled, shields, helmets and arms are found in profusion. At Telemon a great receptacle full of arms was found; this was the site, according to Polybius, of a great battle and these may have been the arms of the slain gathered up and buried after the fight. The shields in the Gregorian Museum are embossed in relief in especially fine work and are in good preservation. The round shields from Vetulonia are also very fine, the long shaped stone shields which are sculptured on some of the early tombs tell of another race. Bronze chairs and a sort of bronze bier on wheels have been found; in one case a small reproduction as if for the use of a child was found at Chiusi. Any amount of bronze harness comes from Vetulonia, the bits sometimes ornamented with little representations of horses at the sides. From the early tombs large bronze fibulas of the form called Mignatta (Italian for leach) are gathered up in the débris, they were evidently meant to fasten the folds of very coarse thick gar-



Moscioni, photo.

BRONZE TRIPOD
Gregorian Museum, Rome

ments. These are decorated with scratched lines either round and round or obliquely or in vandykes and meanders. A great bronze one found on Poggio alla Guardia had a fine gold thread wound tightly round it, and another found in the Circolo di Acquistini was covered with gold leaf on which designs were scratched. Bronze buckles are very common and most have loops fastening over hooks, some were the fastenings of belts, others belonged to harness and are larger and stronger. Among the bronzes from Monterosa is a hook and eye the exact prototype of the hook and eye we use to-day.

A bronze stove, in the Vatican, of the same shape as the high earthenware ones has a sort of receptacle for the fire above and a stand of two spheres on a pedestal, all very gracefully embossed in zones with archaic high-crouped animals with wings and lions' heads and a galloping bull. This came from the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cere. The subjects in the bronze reliefs, whether on shields, cists or other objects, are those found elsewhere in terra-cotta, stone or gold and silver; symbolic figures, processions, animals and geometrical designs are worked into an endless variety of designs.

Death masks of bronze have been found at Vetulonia and Chiusi and possibly elsewhere; and at Orvieto in the Museum Faino there is a very interesting collection of bronze keys.

The bronze coins which give us so many of the ancient place-names, names of deities and other information of priceless value require to be treated in a work on the numismatic art.

Pottery. The Greek painted vases which are found in such vast numbers in Etruscan tombs denote the activity of the trade relations between Greece and Etruria. The importation appears to have gone on briskly for hundreds of years between the seventh and third centuries B.C., but in the time of Julius Caesar, Strabo asserts that the art was lost and that as they had in consequence become rare and costly the cemeteries of Corinth were ransacked for them. It appears rather strange if this were the case that so many were left in the Etruscan tombs, whence they are extracted by thousands up to the present day. Though the art was Greek and many of the finest specimens are signed with the names of Greek artists, the Etruscans soon began to make copies in many of which the names of gods and heroes are incised over their representations in Etruscan characters. In the Etruscan vases, though the subjects are taken from Greek mythology, the Etruscan Charun with his hammer and the good and evil genii accompanying the souls on their passage from this world to another are introduced. Experts also detect certain distinctive peculiarities in Etruscan as distinguished from original Greek vases. As

these involve technical points only interesting to those learned in ceramic art, I shall not enter on the question. Some of the imitations are exceedingly coarse and inferior, mere cheap copies of imported vases; it is only with reference to the finer work that any doubts can arise. The Campanian and Syracusan pottery of fine earthenware varnished black, ornamented in relief, was also largely manufactured in Etruria. There were manufactories of it at Cervetri, Tarquinia, Volterra, Chiusi and Arezzo. The forms are light and elegant and the black varnish very perfect. This pottery was of late date, about the third century B.C. The light coral-red pottery made at Arezzo was continued down to Roman times, and was not of early origin.

The *bucchero nero* or black ware, ornamented with incised or scratched figures and later with reliefs, was produced for a long period all over Etruria. The exact method of colouring the clay is not known, it is not varnished over as in the black painted vases and the Syracuse ware but black throughout as one can see in the bits of broken pots. Kletsche thinks that it was turned black by being smoked. Some experiments made at Sèvres show that it was exposed to great heat. The early specimens were decorated by the potter passing a little cylinder, working on an axis with concave figures on it, over the soft earthenware and thus impressing bands of figures repeating themselves all round.

Earlier still mere scratchings and lines disposed in vandykes, squares, crosses and meanders or bands were used and, later, moulds were employed and the finer parts finished by hand. The workman pressed a mould on the wet clay of a lion, a sphinx, a horseman or other figure and then touched up the muscles, the face, the mane, in fact all the detail with a burin. The arrangement is often processional and separated by bands of conventional decoration. The shapes of vases, utensils and other objects in *bucchero* are so varied that to attempt a list would be tedious; they can only be adequately studied in museums and illustrated works. They go through the usual evolution, an early time of rough work of imperfect technical methods though often attaining grace and harmony in form and design; a gradual progression till artistic feeling and manual dexterity meet and merge in the perfect work, and a decadence in which heavy and over-ornamented forms are produced, with a technique which gradually deteriorates till the decay is complete. Much of this black *bucchero*, especially in the late specimens, is an obvious imitation of bronze. Some are absolutely identical with similar bronze objects. The form of a cauldron with heads projecting in a circle from the edge which one so often finds in the bronzes is equally common in earthenware. Among the objects peculiar to *bucchero* is a curious receptacle called in Italian a *focolare* or brazier, which is found in almost every



Moscioni, photo.

VASE FOR PERFUMES
Chiusi

tomb; it is like a tray with deep edges one of which has a depression in the middle, and many have four feet which raise them an inch or two from the ground. Within it is a complete set of pretty little cups and saucers, jugs, pots, bowls and spoons; the whole must have been used for the preparation of some dainty little repast which no doubt replaced afternoon tea in polite Etruscan society. The tray is called "focolare," because it was supposed that it held hot ashes to warm up the contents of the pots or because it could be stood over a hot hearth, but I doubt the appropriateness of the name; it may have merely served as a stand, as it is often decorated with a scroll pattern round the edge and just holds the entire set in a neat compact way. The tall round braziers which are made in earthenware as well as in bronze are much more convenient for heating purposes and there is no doubt at all about their use.

The long development from the rough red and yellow ware of the early tombs to the finest terracotta, ornamented with artistic reliefs and of the most graceful forms, has been made the subject of many complete works. Nothing but attentive study of the specimens in museums and the plates of illustrated works can give any idea of the richness and variety of this field of research. The finds in pottery that have been made in Rhodes and Boeotia

have been of much assistance in classing and comparing Etruscan with Greek pottery. The pithoi coming from Rhodes and Boeotia are like large amphoras with two handles and end in a point, whereas the Etruscan form is without handles, is vertically grooved and has other distinctive peculiarities. Pellegrini considers Cere to have been the centre for the manufacture of pithoi and of the great platters with reliefs in red ware, and that the tradition of Demaratus exiled from Corinth, establishing himself at Tarquinii in the same part of Etruria and bringing the Greek potters Eucheir and Eugrammos in his train, points to a very early manufacture directed by Greek immigrants. Chiusi, the ancient Camars, was another centre and one can trace in the contents of its sepulchres a complete evolution of the ceramic art. The canopës with the quaint portrait heads are one of its characteristic products. The François vase, one of the most elaborate specimens of the Greek painted vase ever found in Etruria, was found at Chiusi in 1845, showing that while carrying on the manufacture of pottery themselves on the spot they still imported such large and costly productions as this. It is twenty-seven inches high and has six bands of figures and eleven different subjects with one hundred and fifteen scratched inscriptions. A very beautiful vase is in the Gregorian Museum in the Vatican. It was

found at Vulci and is about the same size as the François vase; it is of the finest archaic style, the names of the personages are incised over or beside them, and the words are coming out of the mouths of Ackeleos (Achilles) and Aiantos (Ajax) who are playing a game which is described by most writers as dice: but as no dice are to be seen, and they have some of their fingers spread out, just as the Italians do when playing Morra, and look in each other's faces in the same way, I imagine it is that game, the words coming from their mouths being numbers, such as are called out in playing Morra. On the reverse is Kastor leading a horse and Polydeukes playing with a dog, while Leda clad in a long straight robe covered with the Gammadion ornament offers a flower to Kastor.

Jewellery. The jewellery and goldsmith's work found in Etruscan tombs is unrivalled. The most artistic jewellery now made is copied from Etruscan models.

Among the methods used by the Etruscan craftsmen there is one which is peculiarly interesting and distinctive. This is called by Italians *granulata* or *al pulviscolo*, and has a further development called *granulata filigrana*. Before proceeding to the description of this technique it is well to remember that though it is the best known, and is what most people have in view when they speak of Etruscan

jewellery, it was known in Italy before the arrival of the Etruscans, unless we assign a much earlier date to their immigration than Herodotus and the earlier historians give. As this is a matter about which archaeologists are far from having come to an agreement, the origins of the technique remain obscure, but whether the Etruscans brought it with them or learnt it from the earlier inhabitants, whom they conquered and brought into subjection, there is no manner of doubt they employed the granulated filigree during the whole period of their national life, and that it only died out and disappeared with the rest of their arts, after their conquest and extermination as a nation by Rome.

Professor Karo, in his able articles on Etruscan jewellery in Volumes I and II of *Studi e Materiale di Archeologia*, points out that there was evidently a school of jewellery at Vetulonia during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., which furnishes splendid examples of this particular technique.

It consists of a powder of minute gold globules, so fine as to resemble gold dust, arranged on metal plates or disks in varied patterns. In many cases the patterns are geometrical, triangles, stars, crescents or meanders, in others strange conventional figures of lions, horses, dragons, sphinxes, birds and occasionally human figures. These are fixed on surfaces as small as the drop of an ear-ring or the head of a

large pin, with a symmetry as exact as it is dainty. There is a peculiarly soft lustrous texture in this work which I can only describe by likening it to what one might imagine to be the appearance of golden velvet. The finish and delicacy of the best specimens must be seen to be appreciated, reproductions, however fine, only give a very faint idea of their beauty. More extraordinary, however, even than this minute and elaborate work is the granulated filigree which is the acme and triumph of the Etruscan goldsmith's skill. At the first glance this ancient filigree, which must not be confused with the modern imitations, appears to be formed of the finest gold wire, twisted and worked into all sorts of forms, volutes, rosettes, palmettes, circles, flowers, leaves and numberless other tiny and exquisite creations. These delicate figures enchant the eye, when wire fine as a thread is supposed to be their substance, but when on examination, it appears that this wire is in fact a chain of minute globules soldered one to another, such fairy-like delicacy surpasses belief. The gossamer web which floats in the air on early summer mornings is the only thread comparable to it. In this, as in the globules sown on the disks, the result obtained is one which no other technical method can rival. The softness, the play of light, the depth and solidity combined with airy lightness, mere wire, however fine and exquisitely wrought, can

never produce. It is the countless tiny spheres too small for the naked eye to distinguish from each other, which gives the inimitable quality to this particular elaboration of filigree gold-work.

Inimitable it may justly be called. The brothers Castellani, the eminent Roman jewellers, spent years of endeavour and study in their efforts to imitate it, but they are the first to admit that their beautiful counterfeits cannot rival the masterpieces of the ancient workers.

"They (the ancients) were acquainted with some chemical method of treating the globules of gold used in this work which escapes us," says Signor Castellani. The Genoese goldsmiths revived the filigree in the fifteenth century, and it is uncertain whether they copied ancient models which fell into their hands or introduced the craft from the East, but wherever they obtained their inspiration, they never even in their palmiest days approached the beauty of the pre-Roman work.

Modern filigree is made by arranging gold or silver wire in the required pattern, on a charcoal foundation, which is then exposed to heat sufficient to cause the charcoal to crumble into ash, when the metal tracery remains in its light transparency.

Besides the granular and the granulated filigree, the Etruscan jewellers worked much in repoussé. These ornaments are of gold, silver or electrum, the

latter often covered by a very thin gold plate. The plating is so subtle as to be supposed to be gilding by casual observers, but this is not the case. In Etruscan tombs quantities of these very fine gold leaves are found scattered amongst the débris and the amount caused much conjecture until it was finally settled in the opinion of experts to have been the covering of all sorts of objects buried with the dead, such as shields, cups and bowls as well as articles of personal adornment. The thieves who stole the precious metals from nearly all the tombs were too hurried to gather up this scattered treasure, which is now the only evidence of former magnificence remaining to us, in the majority of cases.

The following stones were used by Etruscan jewellers: emerald, beryl, plasina, chrysophase, garnet, essonite, bloodstone, jacinth, zircon, carnelian, green jasper, chalcedony, haematite, sard, amethyst, lapis-lazuli, onyx and opal. Rock crystal is also employed, and amber. The use of the latter began very early; it was encrusted in bronze breastplates, belts, rings and ear-rings, carved and hung as a pendant to necklaces and strung as beads.

Scarabs found favour among the Etruscans. Great numbers were imported from Egypt and Greece, but the Etruscan jewellers soon began to imitate them, and it requires an expert to distinguish between the native and the imported gems. The

subjects engraved are usually Greek, the Etruscan craftsman in this industry being generally merely a skilful copyist, who took both style and subject from his models. They were used sometimes as ornaments, but oftener as seals, set as rings.

Köhler divides Etruscan scarabs into three classes:

Cent. VII to V B.C. Best period.

„ V to III B.C. Less good.

After cent. III B.C. to Julius Caesar. Bad.

The greatest number are found in tombs between the VI and III centuries B.C.

Many scarabs have been picked up in the so-called jewellers' field at Chiusi, the ancient Camars, where gems and articles of jewellery were turned up by the plough loose among the soil. This has led to an opinion that Camars was possibly a centre of the manufacture of Etruscan scarabs.

To deal adequately with the subject a separate treatise would be required; I can only touch a few of the main points in this résumé of all classes of Etruscan goldsmith's work.

The art of enamelling was known to the Etruscan, and introduced into many of the finest specimens of granular and granulated filigree gold-work. These old enamels are cloisonnés; so far as I have observed, the painted enamels of the Limoges enamelists are not represented in antiquity. Some is exquisitely

handled, especially when employed in the making of the wreaths with which the sepulchral effigies were crowned. I have now mentioned all the methods of the Etruscan jewellers and goldsmiths that I have been able to trace, and will go on to describe some of the principal objects which were the result of their skill and invention.

The first in order by number and variety is the Fibula. This, of all articles of personal adornment, is the one that has held the field the longest and changed the least. Bracelets, necklaces, rings and buckles are as old as the earliest civilization, but they depart widely from their primitive types, or only return to them casually at the bidding of a caprice of fashion, while the safety-pin of our nurseries is exactly the same as its prototype in the earliest *terramare* and *palafitte* of Lombardy or the well-tombs of the bronze age.

Nevertheless, though the original type continues to be used to-day, man soon began to elaborate and adorn what was one of the most indispensable parts of primitive costume. When squares and strips of linen and woollen stuff had to be draped about the human form without the assistance of the tailor and dressmaker, the fibula was of the first importance.

Oscar Montélius figures two hundred and eighty-nine different forms in the plates of his great work on the primitive civilizations of Italy.

An early improvement was the substitution of a spiral-spring for the solid bow of the fibula. This was evidently designed to enable the folds of thick cloth or linen to be pinned together without bending the pin. The great bronze fibula of the Poggia alla Guardia at Vetulonia, now in the Florence Museum, is of this type, which continues to appear in great numbers and twisted into a variety of forms during a certain period, after which it disappears and the original type again becomes fashionable, ornamented in all possible ways with richness and elaboration, but not varying much in form.

Many of the Vetulonian fibulas in the Florence Museum are worthy of close observation. One has a bow of four silver filigree ribbons soldered together with dainty skill, another has a double granular meander along a species of sheath into which the pin fits, and a seven-pointed star at the extremities. Other fibulas of this shape have the sheath decorated with granular and repoussé work of archaic animals and meanders, and the symbolic design of the two rampant beasts with an altar or pillar between them, which is common to Mycenaean and Egyptian as well as Etruscan ornament. The disappearance of the spring-bow fibulas was probably due to the evolution of costume; with the substitution of fine stuffs and silks and fashioned garments the need for this type would pass away. Very tiny and delicate gold fibulas

of the old sort, which are imitated as brooches to-day, take the place of the large primitive shapes, or, when large ones are found, they are very costly and elaborate and possibly part of a ceremonial vestment.

A large pin, resembling in shape and size a modern lady's hat pin, found at Vetulonia has a granulated gold head, and was evidently made to match a fibula of a similar pattern found in the same tomb.

The gold fibula with long sheath found in the Bernardina tomb, and now in the Kircherian Museum at Rome, has an inscription in "granulata" all along the sheath.

All the sepulchral effigies have rings on their fingers; in the early tombs and during the best period before the decadence set in they generally have but one. This one was a seal-ring in the case of the men, and it is thought that the women wore a key-ring. A terra-cotta effigy of the second century B.C. now in the Florence Museum, with the name *Larthia Seianti* in Etruscan characters carved on it, has what appears to be a key-ring on the fourth finger. Rings are sometimes found amongst the débris of the tombs where the body was buried entire, where they have escaped the vigilance of the plunderers, but this is rare, as the graves have mostly been ravaged again and again.

It must not be forgotten that the Etruscans used to bury and cremate indiscriminately during

the whole of their national life. In some cemeteries and at some periods one or other mode is more general, but there is no place or time in which both forms of burial are not found existing side by side. In the one case the body was decked with the jewellery, in the other it was placed on the effigy which surmounted the ash-chest or urn.

The lavish profusion of ornaments with which some writers reproach the Etruscans is confined to the later tombs, where cremating is the usual custom and the effigies are loaded with chains, rings, bracelets and necklaces. Though early tombs such as the Regulini Galassi contained a wealth of precious objects, they appear rather to have formed part of a rich ceremonial costume of which each separate adjunct was a fine work of art, than the mere barbaric display of incongruous bedizenment suggested by the decadent effigies.

The scarabs and gems used for seals are finely engraved, sometimes with religious symbols, representations of mythical personages or gods, or what was probably the device of the owner.

The Etruscans seem to have attached more ceremonial importance to the ring than did the Greeks, and they passed on this custom to the Romans. The betrothal ring, not used in Greece, is a case in point.

The settings of the stones in ordinary rings

include nearly all the forms used by jewellers to-day and, except in the case of the filigree, do not differ much from other antiques. A fine filigree ring in the British Museum found at Capua is catalogued as Greek, but I may be allowed to describe it here, as its technique resembles so closely that of the Etruscan jewellery of Vetulonia and as Capua was at one period a city of Etruria Campaniana. This exquisite ring consists of a hoop finished at the ends with palmettes; the oval bezel has a design in relief of a youthful satyr, with rosettes and a side decoration of filigree spirals. It greatly resembles the early work of the Regulini-Galassi tomb. The lightest and most elegant ear-rings are those in filigree, but there are also many pretty and simple forms either of plain gold with a single stone or in repoussé. These last are, however, often very heavy, and some are so massive as to suggest that they formed part of an elaborate head-dress and were only intended to be worn on special and solemn occasions. There is a very large one of this type in the Museum Papa Giulio at Rome, but notwithstanding its elaboration it is more curious than beautiful. On the other hand the filigree is often not only quaint but charming both in idea and work. Tiny baskets, flowers, birds, shells, amphoras, acorns and other pretty little devices hang from them. One form is that called *à baule* by the Italians, not very appropriately, I think, as the

resemblance to a trunk is not striking. The Louvre possesses a beautiful specimen found near Bolsena, a neighbourhood riddled with Etruscan tombs. It is all made of granulated filigree and represents a four-horse chariot driven by a god crowned with rays, evidently the chariot of the sun; two flying victories hold a flower and a trophy and bear a canopy over the god, all round the edge is a series of rings from which hang alternately an amphora and a rosette. It gives an idea of the fineness of the work to know that the whole length of the ear-ring is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

It is claimed as Greek by Jules Martha, but without the very closest scrutiny it is not possible to assert this with certainty. We have the authority of experts such as Professor Karo and Signor Castellani for the fact that the true granulated filigree was unknown to Greek antiquity. By true granulated filigree I mean that composed of chains of tiny globules; the Greeks used very fine twisted wire instead of the granulated or globular technique.

The question is a delicate one, but Signor Castellani, who has studied the question from the point of view of the technical expert, is of opinion that the Greek goldsmiths' and jewellers' work is quite distinguishable from the Italic, and he points out that as Greek influence spread and became predominant the granulated filigree deteriorated and disappeared.

Necklaces and bracelets naturally formed part of every Etruscan lady's outfit. Strings of beads of glazed earthenware, amber, marble, crystal and all sorts of precious stones were fastened with clasps of all descriptions. Gold chains fitting the neck with pendants either only in front or all round, and little tubes strung together and decorated in repoussé are the most common. The pendants are stones, either carved or plain, scarabs, or are worked in gold or silver repoussé of many different shapes and designs.

A pendant from the tumulus della Pietrera at Vetulonia represents a curious-looking animal hung by the middle, the head and hind-quarters curved down and inwards, so as to fit into an oval frame. It looks not unlike the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. A handsome necklace in the Vatican has amethysts hanging from a chain woven from fine gold wire. Another has alternately a sphinx and a Gorgon's head in repoussé all the way round and in another a lotus flower alternates with a human head.

Bracelets are of all sorts, from plain circlets and spirals to elaborate repoussé and delicate filigree. Some very fine gold filigree bracelets in the Florence Museum come from Vetulonia. The clasps merit attention; one has the design of the woman between two rampant beasts.

Wide metal belts in repoussé about 4 inches wide were evidently fashionable at one time. Many effigies

wear them, and an archaic bust in fetid limestone in the Florence Museum has one very faithfully reproduced, sculptured round the waist. They are sometimes in one piece, but many are of plates and have grooves or loops to attach them together, others have holes and pegs to fasten them to a foundation of leather or stuff. Buckles and clasps of a great variety of forms are found, generally ornamented in repoussé or with jewels or enamel.

Numbers of gold spirals, about an inch or an inch and a half in diameter, were for a time a puzzle to archaeologists, but it has now been decided that they were used in dressing the hair. They are sometimes plain, but often terminate in granulated gold knobs. Great numbers of buttons are also found; some of these are very pretty, especially those in filigree. To describe in detail these smaller articles of costume would be tedious, but to those who have the opportunity of examining them they are interesting as showing the skill and taste that was lavished even on secondary objects of luxury.

In the frescoes of the painted tombs to which we owe most of our knowledge of the costume of the Etruscans all the figures seated at the banquets, as well as the dancers and musicians, wear chaplets of laurel or other leaves on their heads. Reproductions of these chaplets or wreaths in gold and enamel accompanied the dead in their tombs, fragments of imitation

oak, ivy, myrtle, vine and laurel leaves being scattered among the débris in many cases. A few beautiful specimens have been recovered entire, and show that no pains were spared to unite fidelity to nature with the finest art.

There are several of these wreaths in the Vatican, some are composed of the leaves only of the oak, ivy or laurel, the veinings and tracery most faithfully rendered. One of myrtle has the leaves enamelled dark green, and the minute and delicate flowers in white and greenish white enamel, full-blown blooms or buds half-opened and closed. The Louvre possesses one of daisies on a foundation of very tiny gold plates : each flower is mounted on a tiny spring, so that it trembles at the slightest movement. In the centre of each daisy is a tiny glass bead, and along the border of the wreath a row of leaves, adorned with drops of enamel of a soft and lovely blue.

The exact use of the breast-plates, which are found also either entire or in fragments in so many tombs, is not certain. That they had a religious significance is obvious, but whether they were connected with the funeral ceremonies or were part of the sacerdotal vestments for ordinary worship we do not know. As the civil and religious hierarchy was identical in Etruria, every man who had held government appointment would also possess the sacerdotal insignia; hence their presence in his tomb, for when an Etruscan died

everything he has been accustomed to use in life was deposited there.

Most of these breast-plates are in repoussé, sometimes incrustated with stones or enamels.

The large one in the Vatican has four bands across it in repoussé, consisting first of a row of rampant beasts with a human figure between them repeated across the band. Secondly, a row of archaic beasts. Thirdly, a row of sphinxes. Fourthly, a row of winged beasts. Below is a lotus decoration.

The Kircherian Museum at the Collegio Romano possesses the most remarkable specimen. This consists of a solid gold plate, 8 inches by 5, studded all over with one hundred and thirty little gold figures standing up on the plate. They are arranged in rows as follows: five rows of tiny lions, two of chimaeras and two of sirens, and at each end a file of horses, crossing the plate lengthwise. Each little figure is beautifully modelled, the manes and harness of the tiny horses are formed of granulated gold as well as the head-dresses of the sphinxes and the ornamental detail of the other little figures; a meander in filigree frames the whole.

I have now enumerated the chief objects which strike our attention in examining the collections of jewellery which we know to have been found in the tombs of Etruria. The list might be much extended, if we could include the great number of precious

objects which, either through carelessness, ignorance or dishonesty, have been sold out of Italy, into private or public collections, without any attested guarantee of where they were found. These have been classed as Egyptian, Phoenician, Greek or Roman according to the fancy of the acquirer, who may have had no opportunity of comparing one with another. The whole subject is exceedingly difficult and, as was truly remarked by one who has given his life to the study, it requires the eye of an artist joined to the knowledge of an antiquarian to bring out conclusive results.

The position of the Etruscans in literature, the drama, music and the exact sciences we can only judge of by allusions in classic writers and such conclusions as can be drawn from paintings and reliefs.

Varro tells of histories and tragedies in the Etruscan language and Polybius mentions a history of Etruria. Of the merits of these works we know nothing, nor do we know to what extent Latin writers availed themselves of them. The history of Etruria of the Emperor Claudius would probably have enlightened us on these points. Livy must have had Etruscan documents in his hands, but in common with other Roman authors a patriotism, which we may be excused for desiring more enlightened, led him to neglect every source of infor-

mation which did not redound to the credit or glory of Rome. The same spirit has robbed us of all those accounts of ancient Etruria which we know to have existed in Roman times: and until the discovery of the Etruscan language allows us to read such long inscriptions as that on the Perugian cippus or the pages of the Ritual book at Agram, we must resign ourselves to complete ignorance even of the capacity of the language to express great thoughts and abstract ideas.

That they were a music-loving people we cannot doubt; the musician playing on the double pipes is never absent from any representation of Etruscan life, whether of festivity, religion, grief or joy.

In the frescoes the guests at the banquets are feasting to the sound of the flute and all the sports and games are accompanied by music. We read that in their theatres the actors recited to a musical accompaniment and in the religious processions, sacrifices and other rites, the flutist is there.

Dancing is closely allied to music in its primitive developments, and in the frescoes not only do we see the dancing girls posturing and tripping but the musicians themselves seem very often to be dancing too.

The Romans, averse as they were to owning any debt to their neighbours and predecessors, admit that their theatre was borrowed from Etruria, and

that in early times all their actors were Etruscans. The word *hister*, from which we take through the Latin our word *histrionic*, was the Etruscan for actor.

With regard to scientific knowledge they were at least the equals of their contemporaries. They had an extremely accurate method of determining time which strangely enough was also known to the Mexicans. Long periods were measured exactly by astronomical calculations and formed the basis of their calendar. They had however a civil lunar year.

How far the ascendancy of the theocratic hierarchy of the Etruscan rulers was the result of superstitious awe, which their superior science enabled them to inspire in the simple aboriginal people, cannot be estimated, but its influence was probably very considerable. Surgical instruments have been found which show that in the knowledge of anatomy and of the means for treating disease, they had anticipated many of the latest discoveries of our own times. Dentistry was also practised as is shown by the gold settings of the false teeth in a skull from Falerii in the Papa Giulio Museum at Rome and in the complete set of teeth found at Corneto.

The hot springs, which the Romans patronized so extensively, were many of them on Etruscan sites and known and used by the Etruscans long before the Romans appeared on the scene.

Their proficiency in the minor arts, such as embroidery, weaving of fine stuffs, dyeing and so on, is testified also by the frescoes and effigies. The fine texture of the garments and the sumptuousness of their embroidered borders are obvious. The table decorations, though of Japanese-like simplicity, have an air of refined taste which leads us to believe that the accounts of Posidonius of the luxury of the Etruscan household appointments was not exaggerated.

The cultivation of the health and beauty of the body by physical exercises, dances and sports was evidently of the first importance; they paid as much attention to it as did the Greeks. In the frescoes of the painted tombs we have the proof of this. No festivity was complete without athletic sports and games. The stands crowded with spectators, the single figures, such as the lady in the Monkey tomb at Chiusi, indicate, the one, public exhibitions, the other private diversions, and the spectators seem to take the keenest interest in the contests. Horse and chariot races were also much in favour; the Etruscans must have been good horsemen from the testimony of the reliefs, where they ride bare-backed steeds at full gallop with skill and daring. As excavations proceed, remains of amphitheatres where displays of horsemanship and athletic sports were held, will possibly be found on all those sites where subsequent building has not destroyed all traces of them.

Circus shows, such as are practised in these days, are illustrated in the horse which is doing tricks in the Monkey tomb: and probably the small animals playing round about in the frescoes took their part as performers in some of the shows. A fondness for little animals is very evident; they are brought whenever possible into all scenes of daily life, sit under the tables at feasts, follow processions, look on at spectacles and play around generally. The artists have also, whether consciously or not, succeeded in giving them physiognomies which are quaintly expressive, and often almost human, in their appropriateness. Birds also appear as if tamed and domesticated among the human and animal figures in fresco and relief.

Games of chance and skill filled up the leisure hours of the people; dice such as are still used, draughts and chessmen or what answers to them and knuckle-bones are all found in quantities and the attitude of two of the figures in the Monkey tomb shows that the simple finger-game of Morra played still all over Italy, though forbidden lately by law on account of the quarrels it gave rise to, has an Etruscan origin.

Whether the Etruscan artists and craftsmen were organized into guilds has not been ascertained, but did they exist, given the close connection of religion with all the civil acts of the people, they would be

bound up with religious ceremonies and observances. According to Livy, guilds of musicians, goldsmiths, bronze-founders and potters were organized in Rome under the kings, and as it is now generally believed that those legendary rulers marked the period of Etruscan rule in Rome, the inference is that the Etruscan craftsmen originated these guilds. The connection of these corporations with their brethren in Greece and Egypt would, if discovered and traced from its origin, clear up obscure points and elucidate doubtful questions in the history of Etruscan art. With such a thread to serve as a clue, the interchange of ideas and technical methods would be more possible to trace and the influence of one school of artists and craftsmen on another be given its due value and importance. The separation of legend from fact in this investigation is a difficult task, but like so many similar ones, with the accumulation of material slowly piling up as research continues year by year, it passes from the stage of conjecture to that of solid fact.

PART II—MODERN TUSCANY

CHAPTER V

ROME AND CHIEF SITES ON MAREMMA COAST-LINE

THE most important and best-known Etruscan sites lie within a limited area, but they are by no means so easy to visit as the shortness of the distances to be traversed would seem to imply. Many lie not only off railway lines but removed some miles from high roads or anything in the way of habitations but the smallest hamlet. Some can only be approached in a carriage, others must be sought on foot. While obliged to leave out of my plan a great number of the most remote and least significant, I have endeavoured to trace a scheme by which all those where serious excavations have been practised or which possess specially interesting features can be visited, without losing touch with the main arteries

of railway communication. I leave Etruria Circum-padana to the north and Etruria Campaniana to the south out of the plan, the remains found in those great provinces being too scattered and, so far, too incompletely explored, to be included in a brief survey like the present. Rome and Bologna lying at the opposite extremities, just beyond the border, are included only by allusions to their museums. I choose rather to begin from the south and work upwards than to take the opposite course, because it is in the neighbourhood of Rome that our first historical acquaintance with the Etruscans begins and also because a certain familiarity with the Gregorian and other Archaeological Museums in Rome is a necessity for the intelligent appreciation of everything Etruscan. There are several excursions which can be made in the day from Rome; a few of these I describe in detail, others can be undertaken if *l'appetit vient en mangeant*. My limits compel me to make a selection and name those only which should on no account be omitted. After Rome, Viterbo, Perugia and Florence are centres from which much can be learnt, the Archaeological Museum at Florence being, in consequence of its admirable arrangement, one of the most educational of any in Italy. Bologna really lies outside the scope of this work but I have given a few words to it, as it is necessary to make allusions to its collections and cemeteries in taking

account of the origin and early history of the Etruscan nation.

Following then the main lines of the railways which surround, but do not cross, the great Etruscan plain, I give the nearest points from which the principal sites that lie off the railroad can be visited and arrange the whole in a circle, Rome being the starting-point and goal. The route is as follows: Rome, Pisa, Florence, branch to Bologna, return to Florence and continue circle to Arezzo, branches to Stia and Gubbio, join main line and go on to Cortona, branch at Terontola for Perugia and returning take Chiusi and Orvieto on the main line, which is left at Orte for Viterbo and thence by Vetralla back to Rome. Various modifications of this route can be made, Perugia may be reached from Gubbio by way of Fossato and Foligno or by driving direct, in fact those who do not need to stick to the railway but either by driving, motoring, cycling or walking can make themselves independent of it, will be able to vary the itinerary by short cuts across Maremma, but these require either a long purse or considerable personal endurance, as inns are few and roads are bad.

Rome. Making Rome then our starting-point it will be useful to make a preliminary acquaintance with the Etruscan collections in its museums, before visiting the sites from which they have been taken,

as this is a great assistance in directing the attention towards many interesting things which would otherwise be overlooked or not seen in their right perspective. These visits, however, should be repeated when the sites have been seen and then the true study of their contents begins. With the impression of vast antiquity produced by the view of the sites, the artificial surroundings of the Museum can be forgotten and that process of drawing together the past and present is possible, which gives reality and living interest to archaeological studies. Museums are necessary and when thus studied full of interest and suggestion, but looked at, as they too often are, as mere exhibitions of objects severed from all that renders them interesting, they are the dreariest wastes conceivable, evoking nothing but an idle and unsatisfied curiosity which wanes and dies as soon as the museum doors close behind the visitor.

The principal collections are to be found in the Vatican, the Collegio Romano, the Museo Nazionale in the Baths of Diocletian and the Villa Papa Giulio. These form a magnificent series in which to study the art and culture of the part of Etruria nearest to Rome. The great difficulty in the way of any satisfactory study of these collections is the lack of reliable catalogues, and in many cases of any catalogues at all. This is a void which my limits do not permit me to fill, and I can only hope that



Mosconi, photo.

BRONZE BOY
Gregorian Museum, Rome

the curators of these splendid national treasure-houses will see the desirability of making them comprehensible to the general public, by publishing official catalogues and even, if possible, explanatory guides. Small and often almost illegible labels are at present the only indications which the casual visitor has to go by. (The Vatican collection is called the Museo Gregoriano because it was initiated by Pope Gregory XVI who acquired the magnificent collection of jewellery in the centre of the large room, chiefly derived from the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cere. I have described many of these objects in the chapter on Arts and Crafts.)

The fine bronze embossed shields, candelabra, tripods, cists, braziers and thuribles should all be attentively observed; many of them were found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb, as was the bronze bier on wheels on which the corpse was conveyed into the tomb.

Though so beautiful and varied, this collection is less instructive to the beginner than it might be made, through lack of systematic arrangement. Objects of late date and those of archaic times are mixed together in a rather distracting manner. I believe, however, that this defect is to be remedied. There are a number of curious little votive offerings and other small objects in cases in the bronze room, amongst others the little pot resembling an ink-pot

found at Cere, with an archaic Greek alphabet scratched on it and words of one syllable such as are found in a child's first spelling-book. The two bronze baby boys with inscriptions on the arm and leg are thought to be votive offerings. The splendid collection of painted vases is derived in great part from Vulci; it includes some of the very finest period as well as many of more primitive workmanship. In sarcophagi and reliefs the museum is not particularly rich, but there are some interesting copies of frescoes from the painted tombs of Tarquinii.

The collection in the Collegio Romano had as its nucleus the Museo Kircheriano made by a learned Jesuit in the time when the Collegio was directed by that order. Now it has been greatly enlarged and added to and has a most interesting series of remains very well arranged, from the earliest to the latest period. Here the wonderful breast-plate, studded with one hundred and thirty little animals in gold and granulated filigree work, and also one of the most beautiful fibulae found in the Praenestine tombs are to be seen. It is interesting to compare the objects found at Veii with those from Praeneste, the absolute unity, artistic and technical, of both, denoting one preponderating influence at a very early date.

The remains in the National Museum at the

Baths of Diocletian are very numerous and continually being increased in number. They include very interesting things from Umbria and some beautiful jewellery.

The Villa Papa Giulio is almost entirely confined to the objects found at Civit  Castellana, the ancient Veteres and the neighbouring site of Falerii.

The collection of pottery includes a great quantity of old bucchero nero, the shapes of which are fine and often very graceful; it is decorated with incised geometric ornament not with the embossed decoration of later bucchero, of which there is also a fair amount. There is also a quantity of rough red ware, decorated with the meander, and of red glazed ware, and some curious varieties with red figures on a rough white ground, and others with brown ground and roughly drawn figures on white and yellow ground with zones of archaic beasts in dark red. There is also some jewellery in repouss  work, scarabs and a large collection of coins, but the absence of either catalogue or even tickets on the cases to indicate whether the objects are derived from Etruscan Veteres or Etrusco-Roman Falerii is a serious drawback.

Altogether the collection of pottery is what interests most at Villa Papa Giulio, as the jewellery and bronze is less fine than that at the Vatican; and though the painted vases cannot vie with those to

be seen elsewhere, there is a great variety of the more primitive types and of the purely Etruscan ware. In the garden, a reconstruction of an Etruscan temple has been attempted but though no doubt the dimensions have been adhered to, as given by Vitruvius, and verified by the foundations of temples found at Cività Castellana and elsewhere, and though the columns and ornament are copied from vestiges of ancient temples, the effect is neither good nor convincing. The fragments in the Florence and other museums of friezes, pediments and frescoes tell us, with the help of a little constructive imagination, much more of what the aspect of a real Etruscan temple must have been, than this modern imitation.

The vestiges of prehistoric Rome which exist are described in the guide books, one or more of which everyone visiting Rome is sure to possess, making it unnecessary for me to repeat the description here. I will merely mention them by name so that they may not be overlooked.

Difference of opinion still exists as to how much is to be attributed to Etruscan builders in these remains and the controversy is one to enter which demands much expert knowledge. About the Cloaca Maxima, the Servian agger, the fragments of masonry under the foundations of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and at the S.-W. corner of the Palatine

where the wall of *Roma quadrata* is said to run, there can be little doubt, as they resemble so closely the sewers and walls of Etruscan towns. The ruined monuments round and under the famous Black Stone and so-called Tomb of Romulus in the Forum may or may not be Etruscan according to the date at which Etruscan influence ruled at Rome; the same may be said for the foundations of the Tabularium, the Mamertine prisons and the remains now being unearthed above and near the Etruscan wall on the Palatine. The pre-historic well-tombs found in the Forum and on the Esquiline and Quirinal probably belong to the same people who made the well-tombs in other Etruscan towns and who were also probably responsible for the most ancient portions of the remains under the Black Stone, as well as for the traditional Tomb of Romulus. The period of Etruscan influence is clearly indicated by the sewers and walls, but distinctly Etruscan tombs have not been found in or close around Rome. The Etruscan architecture of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol is described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and by Vitruvius; it survived the Gallic invasion and was burnt in 83 B.C. It stood where the Church of Aracoeli is now.

Isola Farnese. Veii. One of the easiest as well as most interesting and suggestive excursions from Rome is that to the site of Veii. No one can form a just idea of either Etruscan or Roman history

until they have visited the spot on which the rival and predecessor of Rome flourished. As one stands here, the fabulous element in early Roman history separates itself from the true, and Etruscan and Roman antiquity are seen in due perspective.

For topographical indications the visitor cannot do better than follow George Dennis, his minute and exhaustive examination of the site cannot be bettered. There are however changes since he was there and especially in the mode of arriving. The simplest of course was then and is now, to hire a carriage and drive over from Rome, but there is now the alternative of the railway, which, to those who have not unlimited funds to dispose of, is a great convenience. Taking the train at Trastevere station in thirty-five minutes the traveller arrives at La Storta, a roadside station, about a couple of miles from Veii.

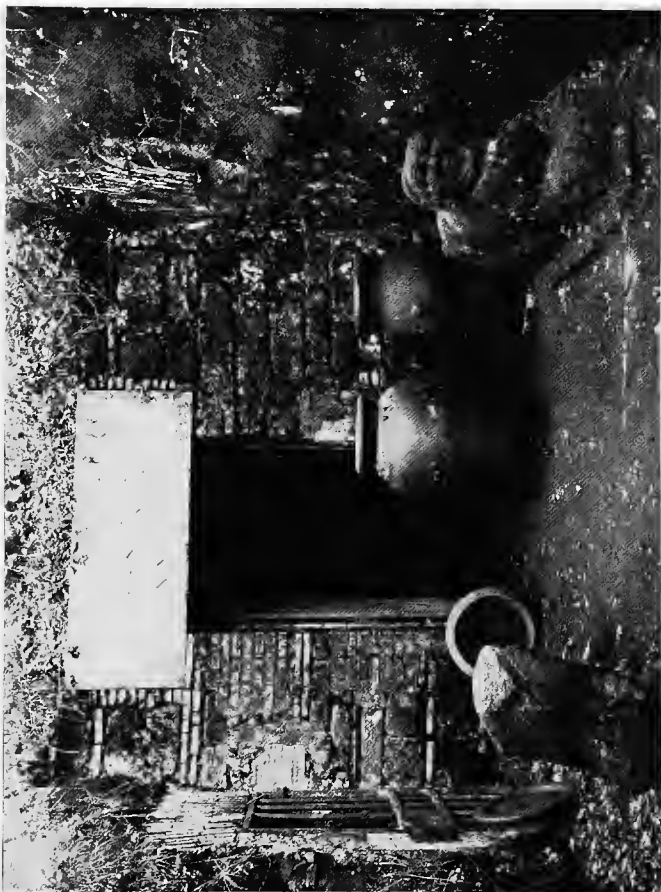
It is a pleasant walk and there is no difficulty about finding the way. Arrived at Isola Farnese, a small village just outside the walls of the ancient town, the guide who has the key of the Campana tomb must be taken and he leads the way to the chief features of interest. As there is nothing but the most primitive of wine shops at Isola it is necessary to carry lunch from Rome. Leaving Trastevere by the 9.15 train, good walkers will arrive at Isola by 10.30 and can start at once with the guide and see the painted tomb, the Ponte Sodo, the

columbarium and remains of gates and walls to which he conducts visitors, by 1 o'clock. He can then be dismissed and lunch eaten *al fresco*. Some quite drinkable wine can be got from the *osteria* at Isola Farnese, which is a consideration when carrying one's own provisions. The rest of the time till the hour for starting to catch the 5.50 train back to Rome can then be spent in wandering round and making those personal observations and discoveries which add so much to the pleasure of excursions to these abandoned sites. The outlines of the city are unmistakable and can be traced without the slightest difficulty. It was built in the usual Etruscan way, on a jutting promontory with steep cliffs on three sides overhanging a stream. The so-called Ponte Sodo is a tunnel bored in the rock through which the waters of the Formello were made to flow. It is a rough scramble down to the edge of the stream under the arch, but well worth the trouble; the rocky pools under the masses of dark rock and festoons of overhanging creepers form one of those delightful nooks in which one can imagine nymphs bathing or indulge in any other poetic or mythological fancy. On its practical side, this tunnel is one of the ocular demonstrations which meets us on every Etruscan site of the way they adapted natural means to their ends. While one stands on the highest point and looks round at the lumpy undulations within the

limits of the walls, a feeling akin to awe rises, at the reflection that these grassy mounds conceal the vestiges of a great city and that here, where hundreds passed to and fro every minute of the day, now in a desolate landscape one stands almost alone.

To make the entire circuit of the walls requires a good walker and indeed except at a few points there is nothing to see, and a general idea of the size and shape can be obtained from the high ground of the Arx.

Some writers have endeavoured to fix the Arx at Isola Farnese, but this would be utterly unlike the plan of every other Etruscan city. The Arx was always at the highest spot inside the walls. Outside were the cemeteries and we see that this was the plan of Veii, for the Campana tomb is situated on a slope full of tombs facing the city wall. The existence of a steep hillock, like that on which Isola Farnese is built just outside the town, is so usual that when one has observed a good many Etruscan sites one's eye naturally seeks such an one and is generally not disappointed. Whether these mounts were crowned by a temple or public building or were the mausoleum of a great man it would require a special study to find out. They are different from the tumuli which also often are near at hand, being steeper and less evenly conical in form. There are several tumuli visible from Veii; one crowned by



Moscioni, photo.

ENTRANCE TO CAMPANA TOMB

Vet

a group of trees is a very prominent feature in the landscape.

I have already described the Campana tomb; the slope on which it opens is riddled with tombs but after being robbed of their contents they have all been covered again with earth. The archaic form of the tomb proves the great antiquity of Veii. Of the date of its foundation we have no evidence.

The early history of Rome tells us of its rivalry with the Etruscan city of which in the beginning it was probably merely the trading port on the then navigable Tiber. The rising prosperity of the young city resulted in a duel, which after lasting for an indefinite time ended in the capture of Veii by Camillus in 393 B.C. The destruction of the city and massacre of its inhabitants was followed by the abandonment of the site by order of the Roman Senate, who were determined to prevent the resurrection of so dangerous a neighbour. Everything that could be carried away was taken to Rome, and it became a mere quarry for Roman builders and antiquity hunters. The pillars of the colonnade of the building on the Montecitorio side of the Piazza Colonna, which was formerly the Post Office, came from Veii, and into how many more of the edifices of Rome the stones of Veii are built, who can say? Notwithstanding the prohibition a remnant of the inhabitants possibly continued to exist among

the ruins till the time of Augustus, when a Roman colony was planted there. The columbarium near one of the gates does not resemble Etruscan burial places, but is very like such Roman ones as those outside Porta Maggiore. The glories of Veii, however, never were revived. With the neglect of the Etruscan sanitary works the area of malaria in the Campagna was already increasing and the city was finally deserted in the early centuries of our era. Strange as it may seem the very position of the site was lost and only re-discovered and finally fixed in the last century. Though everything of any value has long been removed, a systematic excavation of the site would be intensely interesting. Such a work could not fail to discover many things which have escaped the plunderers and devastators of former years and in any case the revelation of the complete ground plan of an important city of such vast antiquity could not fail to advance the knowledge of Etruscan art and history to a notable degree.

Castel Giubileo. Fidenae. Even nearer to Rome than Veii are the vestiges of Fidenae now called Castel Giubileo, the ally of Veii in her struggle for independence and the sharer in her defeat and desolation. Not much is to be seen here beyond some caves which were once tombs and part of a sewer, but being within a walk from the Porta del Popolo it is worth visiting on account of its position

on the eastern bank of the Tiber, proving that the Etruscan territory did not stop at the river, but that its dominion was firmly established on both sides. For anyone seeking to accustom the eye to single out Etruscan sites Fidenae is useful for it has all the characteristic features I have already described, the steep Arx-crowned hill, the mount outside the gates and the lower-slopes of the cemetery beside the roads leading from the town.

Cività Castellana. Veteres. After Veii and Fidenae, Cività Castellana is perhaps the best site to visit, possessing as it does remains of such varied interest and combining the relics of the original Etruscan city Veteres (occupying the site of the present town) with those of the Romanized Faleria situated about four miles away. Cività Castellana is now within a day's excursion of Rome owing to the tramway which starts from the Piazza Libertà. The railway station on the line to Florence is several miles away from the town, a fact which has discouraged visitors in the past.

The tramway follows the ancient Via Flaminia during part of its course and the stone flags of the old road can be seen beside the modern tramlines. It passes through country very little known until thus brought into communication with the great city from which it was separated by miles of hilly uncultivated ground covered in great part with oak

scrub, the relics doubtless of the primeval forest. After following the course of the Tiber for a few miles, the road turns away at Prima Porta between cliffs near the ruins of Livia's villa, and soon after Soracte comes in sight and for the rest of the way lies like a crouching giant on the right hand, the little town of St Oreste perched on one projecting shoulder overlooking the valley of the Tiber, and on its summit the church of St Silvestro which marks the site of the temple of Apollo to whom Soracte was sacred.

A Redemptionist convent is attached to the church which is the most ancient building on Soracte, consisting of an upper church over a very old crypt, the original hermitage of St Silvestro. There is also a little church of St Lucia and one falling into ruin dedicated to St Antonio. Looked at from below they look as if niched into inaccessible crags. St Oreste is an Etruscan site but there is nothing of sufficient interest to warrant going out of the way to visit it. The little towns of Rignano and Morlupo are passed and, before arriving at Cività Castellana, the road descends into a deep valley, crosses the river Treia and then ascends by a zig-zag road to the town which crowns the high cliffs in front.

The situation is most picturesque, the cliffs which on all sides but one hem in the town are

vastly steeper and higher than those of Veii and the tombs with which they are honey-combed, though deserted and used as cart-sheds or storage places or merely left bare and neglected, give a number of object-lessons in the general features of the rock-hewn tomb. On the outside of some are traces of inscriptions and sculpture, generally almost worn away.

The tombs consist of a sort of anteroom and a chamber beyond, often with a pillar in the middle and recesses around to hold the bodies. These niches it is worth observing are long enough to contain the unburned body; cremation does not seem to have been adopted at Veteres. Many portions of the Etruscan walls are visible, as are also the mouths of sewers, and the road up which the tram ascends is of Etruscan construction. All these remains are exceedingly interesting but perhaps it is to the sites of the temples that the visitor will turn with the keenest interest. It was a commonplace of early writers to declare that no remains of Etruscan temples had ever been found and theories were started to account for this deficiency.

A more thorough examination of the ground, however, has revealed, as might have been expected, the vestiges of temples on many sites. The first that was discovered at Cività Castellana was on a

sort of little delta called Celle at the foot of the cliffs where the streams which surround the town meet. Nothing remains but portions of about four courses of masonry, but this is enough to indicate the size and shape of the building. It is one of the largest yet found in Etruria measuring about 135 feet in width and 155 in length; it has the usual *cellae* of the Etruscan temple but possesses a peculiarity of its own in the middle cell which projects beyond the back of the building forming a sort of apse containing a tank into which water was conducted through a conduit. Com. Gamurrini, who made a minute examination of the remains as soon as they were discovered in 1887, believes that this apse, which is not exactly in line with the cell beyond, was a shrine of much more ancient date than the temple. He sees in it a holy well in a grove to which was afterwards added the large temple, and is confirmed in his opinion by the differing periods to which the fragments of sculpture found scattered about belong. A number of votive bronzes and terra-cottas were found in the well. The temple is supposed to have been destroyed B.C. 241 by Manlius Torquatus. Four ancient roads lead to the spot, among them is one from Faleria showing that the Etruscan population after being banished from their city and compelled to build a new one four miles away returned to the grove

and holy well to make their offerings to the goddess of the shrine. Beside these ruins are others of a small building of much later date which Gamurrini believes to be that of a little Christian church built as was so often the case on a site where the people were already accustomed to go for worship. The sites of two other temples have also been found; one which is situated on a height called *Lo Scansato* was of the best period of Etruscan art about third century B.C. Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions a temple of Juno Curites here and Ovid describes the magnificence of the feasts held in her honour; the other ruin is in the *Fossa Maggiore* low down beside the river *Maggiore* and was found in 1901.

Faleria. Falerii. The remains of the Romanized town of *Falerii*, now called *Faleria*, four miles from *Cività Castellana*, are most impressive. A great part of the walls, the gates and a number of towers are still standing and the outline of the city is distinctly visible. Over one gate called the *Porta di Giove* is a sculptured head in relief; in the tombs inscriptions both Latin and Etruscan are to be found, as was to be expected, considering that now Latin was to become the official language of the country. An old convent stood within the walls but otherwise the site was deserted during the Middle Ages. Though not representing a flourishing period of Etruscan art, these ruins are well worth visiting on

account of their relatively good preservation and of the fact that we have here examples of the two towns, the original Veteres on the site chosen by the Etruscans, built and fortified in their characteristic and definite manner, now represented by Civit  Castellana, and the Roman Falerii, built by an Etruscan population on a spot chosen by their conquerors and abandoned in its turn after the fall of the Roman empire. Those who are not very good walkers must hire a carriage at Civit  Castellana, but, for those who are, the walk is worth taking as there are several groups of tombs on the way. The plan of the town was triangular and the walls which are nearly intact are of tufo and have square towers at intervals along them. There are eleven towers on the eastern line of wall, and seventeen on the northern; all these are in good preservation. Besides the Porta di Giove there are two other gates in a fair state of preservation, one called the Porta del Bove from a bull's head on the keystone, and the traces of three more can be seen. Within the walls are the ruins of the theatre, the Forum and traces of a Piscina. Near the Porta di Giove is the ruin of a church of the twelfth century. It was of Lombard architecture and must have been a fine building, the pillars of its nave having been taken from the ancient edifices around. In 1829 the roof fell in and it has been left to crumble away into



Mascioni, photo.

PORTA DEL BOVE
Falleri

complete decay. The cemetery is in the glen below the town; there is a long series of tombs but of course none of ancient date; one is very large and has a cornice carved in the rock; in this as in all the buildings at Falerii there are the signs of the Etruscan merging into the Roman or (it would be more correct to say) the development of the Roman style from the decadent and vanishing Etruscan.

Cervetri. Caere. Cere. Leaving Rome by the line to Pisa, Cere is the first site of importance; it can be visited from Palo, a station about an hour from Rome. Cervetri the modern town is about four miles from Palo, and twenty-seven from Rome. The excursion can be made in the day, by starting betimes in the morning, but as the expresses do not stop at Palo, there is not a great choice of trains.

Cere was one of the very ancient cities which, according to the accounts of classic authors, were founded by the Pelasgians, a vague assertion which implies little except that their origin goes back to the earliest people about whom the Romans had any traditions. It was called Agylla by Greek writers, and Caere by Latin ones, who tell us the Etruscans changed its ancient name to Cere. It was here that the Roman priests and vestal virgins took refuge, carrying the sacred vessels with them, when Rome

was sacked by the Gauls. Cere seems to have held an ambiguous line of policy in the wars between the Etruscans and Rome, as we sometimes read of it allied with Veii and other cities in resisting Rome, while at others it concluded truces with the Romans, and was spared from their aggressions. The religious fellowship, which their harbouring the priests during the Gallic invasion denotes, possibly ameliorated the relations of the people; as I have already mentioned, the Etruscan priests were in the habit of going before the armies and offering to act as mediators.

After the final subjection of Etruria, Cere shared the fate of the other cities, becoming first a treasury for providing Rome and the Roman armies with corn, arms and money, and then when sucked dry left to moulder into ruin. It was finally abandoned in the thirteenth century, and a new town called Ceri founded a few miles away. The name Cervetri is said by Dennis to be a corruption of Cere Vetere, the name by which the old town continued to be called.

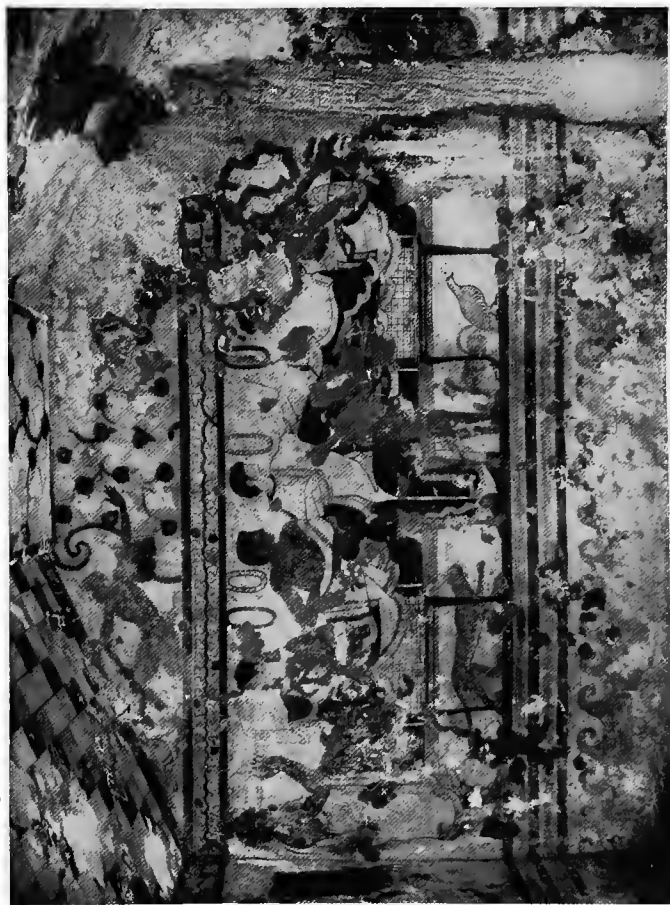
Little remains to be seen of the ancient city, the outline of its walls can be traced and that is about all, but in the cemetery, now called the Banditaccio, some of the most interesting tombs of Etruria have been found. It was common to raise tumuli over the tombs at Cere as at Tarquinii. The celebrated Regolini-Galassi tomb was originally covered by one,

though it has been levelled away in tilling the soil. The cemetery was laid out as was so often the case, after the plan of a town, with streets or alleys leading to open spaces surrounded by tombs as houses surround a square or piazza. One of the most interesting tombs is the so-called Grotta della Sedia, which takes its name from an armchair hewn out of the rock beside one of the couches on which a body formerly lay. The Grotta del Triclinio, a painted tomb of a rather late date, as is shown by a Latin inscription in it, must not be omitted. These paintings are not as well preserved as many others, and are said by Dennis to be painted in tempera and not in fresco, which may account for their deterioration. Next to the Regulini-Galassi, however, the tomb of the Tarquins is the most important at Cervetri. Here the name in its Etruscan form Tarchne is repeated in epitaph after epitaph, and were we able to read them we might know much more about the proud and powerful Tarquins of early Roman tradition than we do at present.

Corneto. Tarquinii. Tarchne. Corneto is the station beyond Civit  Vecchia on the way to Pisa. The modern town is not situated exactly on the site of the ancient Tarquinii, which stood on a height facing the ridge at the end of which Corneto stands. This ridge was the cemetery of the Etruscan town, and upon it are found the painted tombs which have made Tarquinii famous. The majority of these tombs

were discovered about 1830, but one, called the Grotta Cardinale from its discoverer, was excavated as early as 1699 by Cardinal Garampi, bishop of Corneto. It was here that a former mayor or gonfaloniere, as they were then called, of the town, the Cavaliere Avolta, discovered the so-called Warrior's tomb, the tomb of which Ouida has made such dramatic use in her book *In Maremma*. The Cavaliere came accidentally upon the masonry in a vineyard belonging to him, and, looking in immediately the first stones were removed, saw the warrior clad in gold-plated armour lying on his bier exactly as he had lain for more than twenty centuries; while Avolta looked the incoming rush of air touched the oxydized gold and the pulverized body, a shiver seemed to run through it and all crumbled into dust. This weird experience gave impetus to the antiquarian zeal of the gonfaloniere, and in the next few years from 1830 to 1832 most of the tombs on the Montarozzi, as the site of the cemetery is now called, were excavated. As at Cervetri many were originally surmounted by tumuli, which have been partially levelled, leaving the ground broken and uneven.

Nothing in the way of exterior decoration is now visible, it is the frescoes with which they are adorned inside that make the tombs of the cemetery of Tarquinii some of the most wonderful in Etruria. I have already described these frescoes in the chapter



Moscioni, photo.

FRESCO IN TOMBA DEL TRICHINIO

on painting; they form a series illustrating the progress of the art during the period of Etruscan rise and prosperity. The earliest are contemporary with the archaic tombs at Veii and Chiusi, the latest represent the time when Greek influence was most strongly felt. All are worthy of the closest examination, as they are our chief sources of knowledge, not only of the pictorial art in Etruria, but also of the manners, customs and religious beliefs of the people.

Over and over again, we see them feasting at tables spread with what we may presume was the table service of the period, playing at their favourite games, watching athletic sports and races, hunting, dancing, and playing on various musical instruments. Besides all these gay and festive scenes, there are those which are to our ideas more suggestive of the place in which they are found—the soul being conducted to the other world, a procession in which the repulsive Charun with his huge mallet and his attendant demons is counterbalanced by the beneficent Vanth and the good genii who attend, and sometimes seem to contend for, the possession of the departing soul.

Though it is the painted tombs that have made Tarquinii famous, they are by no means the only type in this vast cemetery, which extends over many miles and includes almost all varieties of sepulchres. Some were decorated with sculptured reliefs, others

were mere caverns in the rocks. Numbers that were formerly open have been covered in with earth, new ones are being opened to extract their contents, in fact a detailed guide to this marvellous necropolis would occupy many chapters, and nothing but personal exploration can really give any idea of its treasures. The site itself is one which, putting aside the tombs and their contents, is bound up with the traditions, laws and religion of the Etruscans. It is indeed more definitely Etruscan than those, like Cere and Camars, which have many links with the probably pre-Etruscan religious system. Here tradition tells that the boy Tages sprang from the furrow and gave his laws to the land. Here Demaratus of Corinth came accompanied by the potters Eucheir and Eugrammos and the painter Cleophantos, hence came the Lucumones, who gave to Rome her king. However little of literal truth there may be in these legends, they show that in the dim ages when tradition was forming, Tarquinii was a centre from which organized law and art was given forth, and whose great men were leaders and rulers of the surrounding peoples.

The remains of the ancient city of Tarquinii have probably been used to construct the town of Corneto; there are, however, still parts of the walls to be seen and remnants of the gates. The position of the *Arx* can be traced, also the outlines of the three

great temples which are present in every Etruscan site. The municipal museum contains a large collection of sarcophagi, vases, arms, jewellery, besides early pottery found in the more ancient tombs.

One of the most remarkable of the sarcophagi has been called that of the Magnate. The effigy reclines on a panther skin, he is crowned with a chaplet of leaves, and partly covered with a coverlet, in the right hand he holds a patera, and leans his cheek on the left. The cover of the sarcophagus on which he lies is shaped like a bed and finishes at the ends in animals' heads, and on one side there are two sphinxes, with a head of the Siriac Bacchus between them, and on the other two lions with flowing manes, and between them a graceful female figure. On one side of the sarcophagus below, there is a relief in polychrome of the combat of the Greeks and Amazons, and on the other the Battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiti, which ends with a scene quite Etruscan in spirit. Two Lapiti are being tormented by winged genii, one of whom has serpents twined round his arm, and the other, a sickle and torch. The colours are wonderfully preserved, and show the perfection to which the Etruscans carried the art of polychrome decoration. There is a long inscription in red letters over the sarcophagus. Another, called the effigy of the priest,

has the peculiarity of wearing a beard very rare in Etruscan statuary; he wears a long tunic and a sort of stole over one shoulder, and ear-rings. His face is very handsome and one open hand is extended towards heaven in an attitude of worship, while the other holds an *acerra*, a sort of incense box; his feet are shod with high sandals. This figure also retains traces of colour, the epitaph in Etruscan letters is *Laris Partunis*, the same name which occurs in the long epitaph of the *Magnate*.

There is also a collection of antiquities in the *Palazzo Bruschi*, and in its gardens many fragments of statuary and *sarcophagi* are placed.

Vulci. Inland from *Corneto* is that district of *Maremma* which, teeming with a wealthy and cultured population under Etruscan rule, now presents an aspect of the utmost desolation. In summer malaria infests it and renders it dangerous to visit. Roads are few and bad, swamps and thickets spread over the land. Yet here, preserved by their unapproachableness, are found some of the richest treasures of antiquity. Half-buried in marshes and overgrown by brushwood they await the spade of the excavator, and the explorer bold enough to penetrate their fastnesses finds all that in inhabited sites has long been carried off or broken up for the use of the dwellers on the site. *Vulci* is situated in this district. The nearest railway station is *Montalto*,

a little north of Corneto, but the drive thence is long and the road bad. Unfortunately, however, it has not profited so much from its isolation as have other sites, for it was discovered at an evil time, and its owners, the Lucien Bonapartes, seem, from the description given by Dennis, to have thought of nothing but extracting everything of value from the tombs, and then giving over the rest to destruction.

In the cliffs, however, lining the sides of the river Fiora, which skirts the town, numbers of tombs are to be seen, and the bridge which spans the river is a marvel. It is called the Ponte della Badia, and the arch is nearly one hundred feet above the water. That it dates from the Etruscans there is little doubt, though it has been repaired in Roman and medieval times. Vulci was not a very large city, but it was exceedingly rich, as the contents of its tombs show. It continued to exist after the Roman conquest until the fourth century, when it was abandoned in consequence of its extreme unhealthiness, the Maremma becoming at that time more and more the prey of malaria. The site was only re-discovered in 1828, and from that time it has been excavated in all directions. Literally thousands of the finest painted vases have been taken from its tombs, and numberless other objects of value. The celebrated Isis tomb, the contents of which are in the British Museum, was discovered here. Also the child's tomb

in which the little skeleton was found surrounded by its toys and miniature editions of the usual furniture of an adult's tomb. A few painted tombs were found at Vulci, but evidently the citizens preferred to spend their money on magnificent painted pottery rather than on frescoes. The Museo Gregoriano at the Vatican contains a number of the finest vases found on this site. Vulci is one of the places where cremation seems to have been more practised than inhumation, as there are few of the life-sized effigies found in such numbers in the neighbouring cemeteries of Toscanella, but rather urns and vases containing ashes.

Toscanella. Tuscana. Toscanella is situated about seventeen miles from Corneto, fifteen from Viterbo, and the same distance from Vulci; it lies on the high road between the two first named. The site is one from which a great number of the antiquities found in museums all over Europe have been taken. Excavations were carried on here by the brothers Campanari all through the middle of the nineteenth century, and they were well known to collectors and directors of museums as they excavated intelligently, and were trustworthy guides in the selection of antiquities. Their own collections made Toscanella a place to visit in those times, but these have since passed chiefly into the Louvre and British Museum. Dennis gives a delightful descrip-

tion of their garden full of sarcophagi, reliefs and statuary disposed amongst the trellised vines, the orange trees and flowers of the picturesque old garden. The Arx of the Etruscan city was probably on the height of San Pietro, which is outside the walls of the modern town. The towers of a medieval fortress and an interesting cathedral of the ninth or tenth century crown this hill; no obvious trace of Etruscan masonry is to be seen, but the columns of the cathedral are evidently taken from a pagan temple. The towers, though their construction appears to be medieval, are double, a slender tower within being encased by an outer shell of masonry (as is the case in the round towers of Ireland), a fact which suggests the idea that they were copied from the old fortress on whose site they rise, especially as a similar tower was found built up in a tomb in the necropolis. Toscanella, as well as Vulci, has been thoroughly and systematically explored, and its treasures are now to be seen in most of the great museums of Europe. Its tombs were not rich in pottery; their chief interest lay in the effigies which reposed on the sarcophagi. These are life-size and are of all descriptions. Some lie prone on their backs, but more are in the attitude much more usual in Etruria, half reclining, leaning on one elbow with the face turned towards the side on which they lie. They are evidently portraits, and

generally represent the more refined sharp-nosed type of countenance, though there are some also of the strong heavy-featured type. There are some remains of ancient sewers under the town, and of a circus or amphitheatre in the valley below. The cemetery situated on the cliffs outside the town contains a vast number of tombs, but none possessing any distinctive peculiarities except the one with the tower above mentioned.

Sovana. Though possessing many ruins and tombs of great interest Sovana is seldom visited. It belongs to a group of sites formerly quite inaccessible to foreigners, unless they were gifted with the energy and muscular strength of George Dennis to say nothing of his knowledge of Italian and indifference to creature comforts. Even now, none but those inured to fatigue and discomfort had better venture on exploring the group of which Sovana is the most important. The others, Saturnia, Sorano and Castro may well be passed over as they possess nothing not common to all Etruscan sites. Sovana is remarkable on account of its sculptured façades, which are the same type as those of Bieda, Norchia and Castel d' Asso, and especially two of them, the so-called Fontana and the Grotta Pola.

The Roman town of Suana occupied this site, which was subsequently decimated by malaria and is still unhealthy in summer. It is about three miles

from Pitigliano, a fair-sized town from which excursions can be made. It was the birthplace of Gregory VII, but that is its only claim to distinction later than Etruscan times. The rock-hewn tombs are carved like those of Bieda in the shapes of houses except La Fontana and the Grotta Pola. The former has a pediment resting on a projecting frieze, below which an arch about ten feet high recedes into the cliff. The relief on the pediment is of a figure often seen in Etruscan art, a female with coiling fish-tail, and on either side a male genius with wings. This deity must belong to the early religious conceptions of the nation as it appears in archaic reliefs. This relief however is not of particularly early date; it is of imposing size and ends a long line of rock-hewn façades. It and the Grotta Pola seem to represent temple façades, the latter forms a portico of which a fluted column and pilaster remain with capitals decorated with foliage and human heads. This necropolis was examined by Mr Ainsley who was its discoverer, as far as the English public was concerned, though Italian antiquarians mentioned it earlier. There are many inscriptions carved within the doorways of the tombs, they are however difficult to make out owing to their situation and the wearing away of the rock, which makes many of them fragmentary.

Ansedonia. Cosa. Following the coast north of

Cività Vecchia the station of Orbitello is reached near which a jutting headland called Monte Argentario encloses a branch of the sea, hemmed in by narrow causeways of sand. Close to this are the ruins of a stronghold, the fragments of whose walls belong to that species of masonry which has been called Cyclopean. A fortress of the earliest inhabitants, Cosa, now called Ansedonia, was probably in Etruscan times used as a port by the cities of the interior. The walls have been repaired in the quadrilateral style so distinctly Etruscan in its details. Some curious loopholes in the rock have puzzled antiquarians and it has been suggested that they were used as funnels through which to draw up the merchandise from the ships in the harbour below into the fort above. No tombs have been found in the immediate neighbourhood, but this is not surprising. The Etruscans do not seem to have cared to live on the coast. It was probably too dangerously exposed to descents from pirates. Their rich residential cities were a little way inland and at intervals along the shore were strongholds such as Cosa and Populonia which were mere trading ports and probably only inhabited by the traders actually employed in the import and export business and the military garrison required to protect them. The veneration of the Etruscans for their dead and care for their safe entombment would lead this population

to possess family tombs inland and to carry the dead there to be buried or burned.

The country round Cosa is pestiferous in summer and consequently it is but little visited, though there is a wild grandeur about the ruins which is hardly approached by any other abandoned site. Looking down on this part of the coast from the high land near Monte Amiata, the headland of Monte Argentario, the lagoon and the height on which Cosa is perched are striking features in the scene. The walls, gates and towers can still be followed and the foundations of its three temples. To anyone making a study of the masonry of these early times Cosa is one of the sites most necessary to visit, for here the evolution of Cyclopean, quadrilateral and later Roman work can be observed.

The absence of any mention of Cosa among Etruscan cities, though the fortifications show it to have been a place of such strength and importance, I ascribe to the fact of its having been only used as trading depôt for the surrounding country. It was a species of Gibraltar to the inland cities and possessed no separate political existence apart from them.

Looking at the lace-like indentations of the coast, the blue waters of the Mediterranean and the bold curves of the headlands one can picture the scene when the dismal lagoon was a harbour crowded with

galleys bringing luxuries from every part of the known world, the sea-shore fringed with fishing villages and the promontories crowned with towers. The wild lonely beauty of desolation is all that remains of this enchanting picture.

During the period when the Etruscan vessels scoured the Mediterranean, harbours were a necessity to national life and when all the various imported goods that we find in the tombs were brought to the marts of the rich and luxurious Etruscan citizen, sea-ports such as Telemon, Cosa, Populonia, Gravisca and Pyrjos grew up naturally. They were feeders to the cities of the interior and at the same time guardians of the coast. To each large inland city or group of smaller cities we can attach a trading port on the sea. That Rome was originally such a port is a theory I have alluded to elsewhere, the attribution naturally dating back to a time when the Tiber was navigable to ships of the period. The abandonment of this stretch of coast with its *hinterland* is one of the melancholy examples of wasted opportunities. The alternations of headland and bay, the long beaches and rocky promontories would enclose and foster so many delightful seaside towns and villages facing the blue dancing Mediterranean. The islands lying off the coast, Elba, Monte Cristo, Giglio and many others raise their heights, sometimes precipitously from the rocks sometimes clothed with vines

and olives; while landward a circle of mountains encloses the undulating plain. Let us hope that the efforts which at last seem to be seriously directed against the malarial scourge, which keeps this fair coast desolate, may be crowned with success.

Rusellae. Continuing northward from Cosa one arrives at Grosseto, the provincial capital. The sites of the Etruscan cities of Rusellae and Vetulonia can be visited from it and indeed there is no other halting place, for the country round, though improving in sanitary condition through increasing cultivation and consequent drainage of swampy areas, is still infected by malaria. Vetulonia can be visited from Gavorrano, a station beyond Grosseto, but it must be done between two trains as no stay even for a night can be made there.

Rusellae is about six miles away. The site has been abandoned since the twelfth century and is completely overgrown and neglected. The remains of its walls are the chief objects of interest now to be seen; these are formed in parts like those of Cosa, of huge blocks of stone, the oldest portion being Cyclopean. The pomerium or sacred enclosure just inside the walls, which the rite for building an Etruscan city commanded to be left unbuilt on, is traceable at Rusellae by an inner wall of smaller square blocks. It was not a large city, the circuit of its walls being only about two miles, but it must have been of con-

siderable importance as it is generally included among the twelve chief cities of the Etruscan League.

The situation of the gates and Arx can also be traced and there are some Roman ruins of what has been identified as a theatre or amphitheatre. A few tombs have been found here, mostly of archaic forms.

Vetulonia. The existence of the city of Vetulonia was known long before the site was discovered. Roman writers speak of it as being one of the chief cities of Etruria proper and its Etruscan name Vetluna or Vetl is found on coins and inscriptions. Several explorers thought they had found its site, amongst others Dennis, who devotes a chapter in *Cities and Cemeteries* to his satisfaction in having solved this problem and giving his reasons for supposing some ruins near Magliano on Maremma to be the correct spot. His surmises however have turned out to be mistaken, for about 1880 Isidoro Falchi made the important discovery near the village of Colonna in the Commune of Castiglione della Pescaia, of what has proved to be the veritable ruins of Vetulonia. This is one of the most important advances made in Etruscan researches in the last thirty years. It has put a new face on many of the problems occupying students of the art and habits of the nation, and has discredited Niebuhr's theory of the northern derivation of the Etruscans. Excavations were begun

systematically in 1884 and the Florence Museum has been enriched greatly ever since by a series of most interesting finds. All that exists in the way of human habitation where was once this powerful and rich city is a hamlet which is now allowed by royal decree to take the time-honoured name of Vetulonia. The situation is in the N.W. of Maremma, considerably to the north of Dennis's site; the hillock which was crowned by its buildings is called Poggio di Colonna. Milani thinks it may have been one of the earliest settlements of the Etruscans. A city belonging to the primitive inhabitants existed on the spot, as is shown by their early well-tombs. The artistic remains brought to light by the excavations show a regular progression from rude and primitive beginnings to the finished products of the golden age of Etruscan art and power. Capannas or hut urns are found side by side with the elaborate chambers of the corridor tombs.

We do not know the reasons for the complete abandonment of Vetulonia at so early a date, while many other Etruscan cities of Maremma continued to be inhabited through Roman times, but the circumstance has been fortunate for archaeologists. The deserted site being entirely lost among marshes and thickets, searchers for treasure ignored its whereabouts, and consequently many of the tombs preserve their precious contents intact or only violated by

those very early robbers who merely removed the jewellery and such small objects as they could easily carry away. Another point is that the period of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. is particularly well represented in the Vetulonian tombs, a period previous to the defeat by Hiero king of Syracuse of the Etruscan fleet allied to the Carthaginians, when the empire of the Mediterranean was taken from them, and before descents of the Gauls on their northern provinces and attacks by the Romans on the south, first weakened, then shattered, their powerful and beneficent League. The granulated goldsmith's work found here is of the same exquisite technique as that of the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cere and the Praenestine tombs Barberini and Bernardini, thus disposing of the theory that this method of gold-working was not thoroughly Etruscan. Archaic statues in fetid limestone have imitations carved in the stone on their necks and bodies of the same types of jewellery as those found in the tombs.

An interesting problem in the study of origins is touched by the presence at Vetulonia of shields not only of the round or Greek shape but of long oval ones in tombs prior to the Gallic invasion. The great tumulus tomb of the Pietrera, which I have described in the chapter on sepulchres, contained one of the earliest graffiti of a warrior with an inscription.

There are any number of simple earthenware cinerary urns with a saucer upturned over the top as a cover, and also a great many capannas of the common type. The bones in the early grave tombs are found lying as they were originally placed; some of them have been scorched as was also the custom in very early times in Asia Minor. There is one tomb which had so many objects of foreign importation that it has been called the tomb of the Stranger; among other things there are several genuine Egyptian scarabees. A curious tomb also with Egyptian affinities is that called the tomb of Mut; it is within the stone circle of what was formerly a tumulus and within it was the porcelain statuette of a goddess on a throne nursing a baby; she has a tight dress and a serpent on her forehead, her hair falls loose on her back and on her head are the symbols used in Upper Egypt to denote sovereignty. An inscription in hieroglyphics is thus deciphered: The goddess who speaks is Mut, the Queen of life.

In addition to bronzes and goldsmith's work which show that the Vetulonians were great metal workers, there is much pottery of local manufacture, both rough impasto and bucchero. The Greek imports are less numerous than elsewhere, in fact the connection of Vetulonia with Egypt and Carthagina seems much closer, judging by its remains, than with Greece. It appears as if during its centuries

of high prosperity, the eighth and seventh B.C., it was resisting the preponderating Greek influence and attaching itself to African allies, a theory borne out by the union of Etruscans and Carthaginians against Hiero of Syracuse. We do not learn much about Vetulonia from ancient writers, yet what they do say shows it to have been an important place, a fact which its ruins conclusively prove. Dionysius quotes it as joining Chiusi, Arezzo, Volterra and Rusellae against Tarquinius Priscus. It also formed one of the monetary league which existed between Arezzo, Cortona, Chiusi, Volsinii, Populonia and Perugia. Noel des Vergers cites a passage in *Italicus* in which he asserts that it was from Vetulonia that the Romans derived the twelve lictors with their axes, the ivory curule chair, the robes of Tyrian purple and the use of the brazen trumpet, but unless we admit that it was the earliest city founded by the Etruscans, in which case all signs of rule would flow thence, it is not probable that Vetulonia was the only source of these symbols of power, which were undoubtedly derived from Etruria.

Populonia. Fufluna. The great naval and commercial port of Etruria, Fufluna or Pufluna, called by the Romans Populonia, which was also the seaport of Volterra, is situated on a sandy isthmus near the bay of Baratti about five miles from Piombino. A branch

of the railway runs from Piombino to Campaglia, a station about half way between Pisa and Grosseto. Little remains of the Etruscan city, except some fragments of its walls, which follow the crown of the hill for about a mile and a half, the harbours, store-houses, temples and other buildings of which we read, have all vanished with the exception of some rows of vaults and reservoirs. The harbour has silted up, the quays rotted and dropped into the sea and the fortifications have crumbled into shapeless ruins. The aspect of this line of coast in the days of old can be faintly pictured by comparing the site of Cosa with that of Plymouth; Monte Argentario rising to seaward like Mount Edgcombe, while the now deserted lagoon fills the place of the Sound; the shipping of a great nation once rode at anchor in this land-locked bay; now a few fishermen dragging their nets break the spacious solitude. The site of Populonia resembles that of an Etruscan Portsmouth, doubled with such a commercial port as Bristol. Here the navy of Etruria had its headquarters, and here the iron from Elba was landed, smelted and re-shipped for export. All the business of a commercial port joined to that of a naval centre filled the streets and quays with movement and activity, where now silence and desolation reigns. In these scenes of universal decay the only thing unchanged is the dancing, careless sea. Sulla captured and destroyed this fair and busy port after

reeking his fury on Volterra, and it never recovered from this blow.

How indeed should it, when the populous cities who were the consumers of its imports and manufactures lay also in ruins and the power of the great League whose fleet ruled the Mediterranean was shattered? When Strabo visited the spot a century after Sulla it was in a ruinous state, and subsequent inroads of Lombards and Saracens reduced it to a desert. Livy tells us that when Scipio requisitioned Etruria to fit out his fleet, Populonia supplied the iron. There are a few tombs on the cliffs near Populonia, quarried in a soft sort of sandstone and not in good preservation; there are also some tumuli about a mile away. Near here the beautiful bronze statue of Minerva, now in the Louvre, was fished up out of the mud; it is singular that it is almost the only object of interest, except coins, that has been found. By what accident did it escape the spoliation which has robbed us of every other memorial of the greatness of Populonia? Did the priests of the temple where the goddess was worshipped try to escape by sea carrying the sacred image with them, and were they thrown back by storms and wrecked on the coast from which they were fleeing? We shall never know. The coins are of gold, silver and bronze. The emblems on them are significant. We have the head of Vulcan (Sethlaus) with hammer and tongs in allusion to



Alinari, photo.

PORTA ALL' ARCO
Volterra

the iron commerce of the place, heads of Mercury and Minerva are also common, and on the reverse the crescent moon of the goddess and the caduceus and trident of the god. Populonia formed one of the cities of the monetary league to which Arezzo, Cortona, Chiusi, Volsinii and Vetulonia also belonged.

Volterra. Volaterrae. Velathri. Volterra is the last Etruscan site of importance that can be visited from the line Rome-Pisa. A branch leaves the main line at Cecina and arrives as near Volterra as railways find it possible to get to Etruscan towns. In common with Perugia, Volterra retains the site and very nearly the name of the ancient town. We now leave the desolate wastes of Maremma and their abandoned ruins, and join the group of hill-towns, which are as imposing, though in a different way, and teach us to appreciate another side of Etruscan genius. The Etruscan walls of Volterra, though partially ruined in the Middle Ages, are still some of the best preserved and most characteristic that exist. We have here the quadrilateral mortarless constructions, unmixed with any of those vestiges of Cyclopean builders, which we have observed at Cosa and Rusellae. Outside the Porta San Francesco and under Sta. Chiara are the best preserved portions. The great gate called the Porta all'Arco is the most perfect specimen of an Etruscan gateway that is known. The sculptured heads surmounting it represent deities,

the one on the keystone probably the primitive goddess Cybele under one of her invocations, that of foundress of cities; her symbol is found over the gateway at Mycenae and on stones supposed to be the keystones of arches, in many pre-historic sites, as well as in the most ancient tombs. The circuit of the walls, which can be traced, shows that Volterra was one of the largest of the hill-towns, and its importance as a city of the League is shown by the references to it in Latin authors. It probably ruled a very large territory stretching inland towards Siena and down to the sea, where Populonia and Luna were its seaports on the Mediterranean.

The conquest of Volterra was the final crushing blow which ended the struggles of the Etruscan nation. Scipio fought a great battle below the city in 298 B.C. which, though desperately continued till night fell, ended in the retreat of the Etruscan forces. After the civil war between Marius and Sulla, when the Etruscans took the losing side, Sulla besieged Volterra for two years, and when at last it fell Cicero saved it from the fate of the other rebellious towns and it was spared from destruction. A military colony was subsequently planted here, and no doubt the original inhabitants were kept in complete subjection, till at the fall of the Empire the universal fate fell upon the place, and it was ravaged by Vandals and Huns. During the dominion of the

Lombards, Volterra was restored to some prosperity, being made the seat of government of Lombard kings for a while. During the Middle Ages it was the seat of a bishopric and underwent a siege by Federico of Montefeltro during which the Etruscan walls were much ruined. In the end it came under the yoke of the Florentine Republic and remained part of the Grand duchy of Tuscany under the Austrian dynasty.

One of the relics of Etruscan times is the Piscina, the arches of which are sustained by six columns; the openings in the vaulting were for the laying of water pipes. The usual admirable system of drainage practised by the Etruscans is recognizable by the apertures for sewers which are found under the town; the remains of baths now to be seen are Roman, but as all Etruscan towns had baths those of the early town probably await excavation. The cemetery or cemeteries are, as usual, on the slopes below the town, the tombs are of various forms and sizes, some the ordinary corridor type, others dome-shaped with pillar in centre and even a few triangular. Two derive their chief interest from the fact that they appear from the inscriptions within to have been family tombs of the Caecina family which became afterwards famous in Roman history. In one of these tombs some of the inscriptions are in Latin but most in Etruscan, and in the other all are in Etruscan; this shows the continuance of the old family into

Roman times and its gradual adoption of the Latin tongue. Only a few of the tombs are left open to be visited; most of the objects are taken out of them and put in the museum. One of the tombs has been removed wholesale and can be seen in the Florence Archaeological Museum.

The Museum of Volterra is particularly rich in those square chests in which the Etruscans who burned their dead preserved their ashes. These bear reliefs on the sides and generally an effigy on the lid adapted to the size of the chest. These effigies have none of the merits of the figures on the long sarcophagi, even when the sculptor is evidently capable of better things, for they have to be cramped up to fit the space assigned to them. The figures are dumpy and the heads disproportionately big. They fulfil however the only demand which was evidently made on these sepulchral sculptors, that of reproducing the deceased as he was in life. The faces are carefully modelled and all have the air of being exact portraits. The decision and variety of feature, the liveliness of expression and above all the absence of flattery are remarkable. We see no insipid faultless faces but individual expressive countenances with all the imperfections of nature, and, when the subject was ugly, there was no hesitation about perpetuating the fact on his tomb. This fidelity to nature was no doubt sustained by religious motives; the natural tendency

of mankind to slur defects in portraits and especially to idealize on monuments was checked by the same considerations essentially which made the tomb a reproduction of the house, and which surrounded the effigy with all the objects necessary in life. Childish and absurd as this may seem, looked at literally, we should not be too hasty in judging these beliefs in an antiquity of whose intellectual life we know little or nothing. They possibly symbolized a conception of the life of the soul no more material than our own, and in any case let us be grateful to them, for as we pass from effigy to effigy, studying, one by one, the often plain but always interesting faces, we have a portrait-gallery such as no-ranks of faultless Apollo-like men and idealized Venus types of women could possibly give us. Here we are face to face with nature and life, the nature and life of twenty-five centuries ago, but differing how little in essentials from nature and life of to-day. The ash chests or urns on which the figures repose have sculptured reliefs; for those learned in classic lore the identifying of the mythological legends common to Greek and Latin antiquity with the Etruscan representations of the same may be recommended as offering a large field for observation and deduction. Those sepulchres which have only symbolical decorations are also very important to the student of Etruscan religion. There are the marine deities

like that on the sculptured tomb at Bieda, with woman's head and bust and coiling sea-serpent tail or dolphin-like lower half of the body; which is also sometimes represented with male upper part. This deity is no doubt connected with the myths of Scylla and the Sirens. There are also the fish, the serpents, the so-called Gorgon heads and other symbolic figures, which we come across so often in the tombs. Most people will however be more interested in the scenes from real life which, as at Chiusi, decorate many of the sepulchres and grave-stones or cippi. There are boar hunts, bull-fights, sports and contests of strength and skill, and many processions, figuring religious rites and civic ceremonies.

We see in many of these, that the Roman triumphs and their insignia of government were derived from Etruscan rites and ceremonies and were in fact survivals. There are also many scenes of purely private life, dying parents surrounded by their sorrowing families, farewells between husband and wife, friends and children, sometimes realistically rendered, the moribund lying in bed, or standing cloaked and prepared as if to start for a journey. The attendant genii are present on all these occasions, sometimes tenderly supporting and consoling the departing one, sometimes weeping as if in sympathy with the grief of the friends left behind and sometimes malevolent and hideous beings, trying

to thrust themselves forward and drag their victims away with them. Charun armed with his hammer naturally assists and also genii with inverted torches, in fact all the funereal symbols, many of which have been adopted in monumental statuary to our own times, are there. Some of these urn-chests and effigies are in stone and a few in terra-cotta but the greatest number are in alabaster, which is accounted for by the vicinity of the alabaster quarries which were known to the Etruscans and have continued to be worked down to the present time. The painted vases found at Volterra do not present any extraordinary interest; whether all the best ones were found and carried off in antiquity or whether the taste of the Volterrians did not lie that way it is not easy to say. There is a good collection of the native *bucchero nero*, but it has not any striking peculiarities to differentiate it from that found on other sites. The same may be said of the bronzes, though in both cases I must be understood to be speaking generally, for those who have time to inspect minutely will always find in every separate museum and site some peculiar trait which excites curiosity and interest. The epitaphs are in themselves worthy of special notice as in many of them names occur which, in their Latin form, were celebrated in Roman times, some of which, as the *Caecinae*, continued to exist into the Middle Ages and even later.

Arriving at Volterra after visiting the abandoned sites in Maremma and on the coast between Corneto and Orbitello, one regards it as a link between that remote and unknown antiquity and the historical period. The first impresses us, by its prodigious ruins and its buried treasures, with an almost overwhelming sense of fabulous power and magnificence, the other, with its documents in stone, its portrait statues, inscriptions, gateways, and walls yet inclosing and giving entrance to a living town, draws past and present into a conceivable whole. In situation and topography, Volterra belongs to the group of sites I treat in the next chapter, the hill-towns perched on summits, such as Fiesole, Perugia and Orvieto; not to those on headlands, with high table-lands on one side and protected on the others by those deep ravines and precipitous cliffs, which characterize the Etruscan cities of Maremma and the Campagna.

CHAPTER VI

FLORENCE, BOLOGNA, PERUGIA AND N.E. TUSCANY

FLORENCE as its situation shows, lying low beside the river, was not an Etruscan city, for the site is one never chosen by the Etruscans. Their city, Fiesole, rose as usual on a height a few miles away from the Roman town which succeeded it. It is nevertheless in the Florence Archaeological Museum that the chief collection of Etruscan antiquities from the Tuscan Maremma is to be found, and owing to the systematic and topographical arrangement of the Museum, the study of its contents is easier here than in any of the Roman Museums. The need of a catalogue is felt here as elsewhere; the only existing one is out of date and out of print, but a new one is promised and it is to be hoped that its appearance will not be long deferred.

With regard to the arrangement no fault can be found; on the ground floor a long file of rooms contain the objects found on given sites, collected

together and arranged as far as possible chronologically. Thus Vetulonia occupies three rooms, in the first of which are the hut-urns and oval stone shields from the primitive well-tombs, in the second and third, the bones, bronzes and jewellery from the graves in the tumulus of the Pietrera and other tombs. Each room has over the door the name of the site from which the objects exposed were taken, and the contents of particular tombs are put in cases together and labelled. Populonia, Cortona, Chiusi, Orvieto, Toscanella and Arezzo have each a room or part of a room devoted to them.

The fragments of archaic statuary in stone and terra-cotta are especially interesting, also the jewellery from Vetulonia and the bronze harness and armour from the Tomba del Duca in the tumulus of the Pietrera. One's attention is at once attracted by the bronze candlesticks (of the shape of those of Solomon's Temple sculptured on the arch of Titus at Rome) as also by the censers, which so strongly resemble those used in churches to-day. The bronze boat with animals round the bulwarks and strange little figures on the poop, to which Prof. Milani attaches so much importance as a guide to the beliefs of the Etruscans, is here. There are also many other little bronze boats which probably had the same mystical significance, and an iron "scure," the prototype of the Roman fasces. The coins from Populonia are very



Brogi, photo.

FRANÇOIS VASE
Etruscan Museum, Florence

numerous and should be studied. Many bear the head of Sethlaus the Etruscan Vulcan, the patron of smiths, with his hammer and tongs.

Populonia was one of the cities allied in a monetary league with Camars, Velz and Curt, as I have already stated. From Orvieto there is an absolutely intact mould for a head of Ariana, a beautiful type, with curling hair and delicate features. The types of face on the Toscanella sarcophagi should be studied and compared with those on the ash chests in one of the rooms upstairs, as they are a good object lesson on the difference in type between the families who burned and those who buried their dead.

In the corridor facing the garden are the fragments of the beautiful Luni frieze in terra-cotta, which gives us some idea of the loss we have sustained by the wholesale destruction of these architectural decorations in Etruria.

On the first floor the fine collection of bronzes and bucchero is being re-arranged at the time I write. The bronze statues of Menrva, the Orator, the Chimaera and the fragments of the bronze group of Diana in her chariot, are all here. Among the painted vases the François vase reigns supreme. This vase, which I have already described, was found in fragments at Chiusi in 1845 and bought by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. It was restored as well as the

best experts of the day knew how and stood for half a century, first in the Uffizi, afterwards in its present position, when one disastrous day an official of the gallery, in a fit of mania, dashed it to the ground and it was again reduced to a heap of broken potsherds. It was however immediately put in the hands of restorers and the experience of the last half century has, it appears, taught many lessons in the art of restoration, for when, after several years of the minutest care and labour, it was again exposed to view it was in an even better state than when its second misfortune overtook it. The collection of urns, many of them from Volterra, is not very varied; the reliefs are frequently the same subject of Greek mythology treated again and again, being evidently copies from some well-known original and of late date. The chief interest lies, as I have suggested, in the types of the effigies on the lids. The long sarcophagus with the tinted effigy of Larthia Seiantes and the Amazon Sarcophagus are exceptions.

In the garden there are a number of reproductions of tombs, from the earliest well-tombs onwards. They have all been transported here and reconstructed with the original stones and some of them have the urns, as originally found in them. A copy of the frescoes in the tomb of the Sette Camine near Orvieto gives a vivid impression of the general appearance of such tombs. There is a specimen of the primitively



Alinari, photo.

LARTHI ANINIES
Etruscan Museum, Florence

arched tomb without keystone and of the domed chamber with the pillar in the middle. The primitive stele with the warrior in relief and the inscription *Larthi Aninies* was till lately also in the garden, but it has now been removed indoors. On the whole the collection is the most comprehensive that exists, though it may not possess so many or such fine specimens of certain objects as other museums; and it is always increasing owing to the activity of its Curator.

Fiesole. Fiesole is one of the first places, ordinarily, where acquaintance is made with Etruscan antiquities outside museums. The ruins of its baths and theatre are so accessible and their situation so beautiful that no visitor to Florence neglects to see them. The beauty and dignity of this city planted on a hill, in her palmy days, must have been matchless and the violence with which her enemies tore her to pieces again and again, testifies to the jealousy aroused by her perfections. Three times in the days of Rome was she laid waste and depopulated; she was first conquered after a siege of which there is no mention in history, then during the civil war she took the losing side along with Volterra and most of the north-west of Etruria and incurred the terrible vengeance of Sulla, and again misfortune overtook her after she had aided Cataline against Rome. After a brief period of relative prosperity

under Roman rule she was taken by the Goths; but even after these successive disasters, so massive and enduring were the relics of her first constructors that until 1125 her ancient citadel was still defensible and portions of her temples and other buildings standing. In that fatal year the jealous Florentines resolved that their city should be paramount and, dreading the competition of their ancient rival, under pretext of joining in a festival they treacherously concealed weapons under their clothes and turning on their unsuspecting hosts, slew them and took the city. Then the ruin of Etruscan Fiesole was consummated, the *Arx* or Citadel was dismantled, the ancient insignia carried off along with the ambones of the Cathedral, and the walls and other buildings became quarries, from which the Florentines took stone to build their own town.

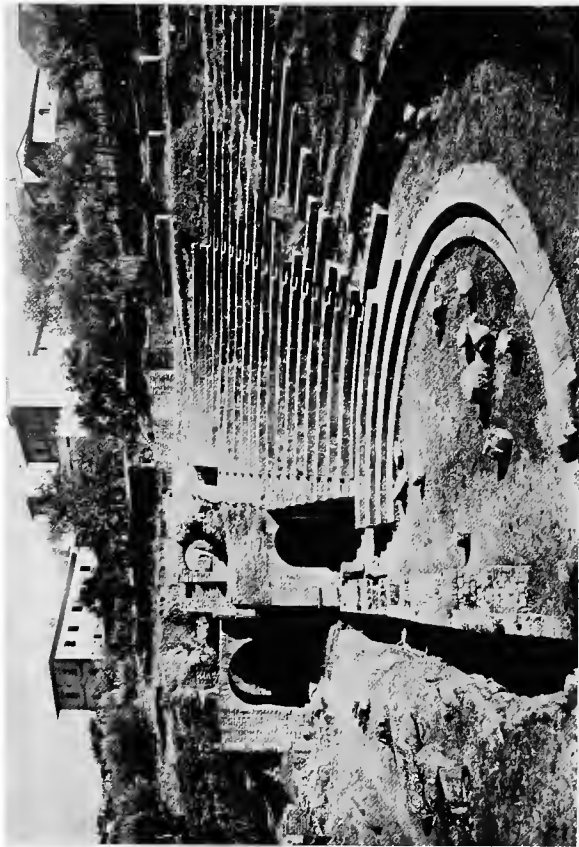
After all these misfortunes it is not to be expected that anything should remain standing, nevertheless under and around gardens and villas of the modern townlet enough remains to occupy a pleasant day.

Fragments of the old quadrilateral masonry of the walls can be traced for two and a half kilometres, the most perfect piece being to the north, below the theatre. The situations of the gates have been ascertained. One is on the old road just between the Villa Medici and the convent of S. Girolamo, where tradition also places the martyrdom of some

early Christian saints, the others were in the Via di Riorbico, the Via Mantellini and the Via S. Maria. The gate of the citadel was in the Via delle Coste. The church of S. Alessandro on the way up to the Franciscan convent marks the site of a temple to the Etruscan Bacchus, a god whose temple was always found in Etruscan cities, where he preserved his dignity as a great primeval deity, before he was degraded to a mere god of tipplers, to be served with licentious orgies. The columns of cipollino belong, it is thought, to a restoration in Roman times. In 1784 this relic of antiquity was unroofed and robbed of its old pavement by the Grand Duke Leopold and left in ruins, but was saved from complete decay and restored by Bishop Tommasi in 1814.

The Piazza was probably the forum of the Etruscan city and opening from it on the north is the theatre, baths and a few remains of a temple. Part of an aqueduct was discovered when they were doing some repairs in the Piazza in 1835, crossing the town from east to west, and tanks of Etruscan construction, with steps descending to them, in connection with it. The temple and baths form a fine group of ruins; their situation on the brow of the hill facing a panorama of hill and valley stretching away to the ridges of the Apennines is remarkable even among the accustomed beauty of Etruscan sites. The state of preservation of the theatre enables us to trace its

form and arrangement without the slightest difficulty. A minute description is given by Signor Guerri, to whom I am indebted for the explanation of many of the details of the ruin. He points out the signs of high antiquity in the parapets, jambs and seats, hewn out of the rock with a pick-axe and finished off and pared down merely at the corners and joining places. Decorations and fluted columns were afterwards added to these rough foundations. The edifice was hollowed in the side of the hill, as is so often the case in Etruscan and Greek theatres, and the entrance was, as it is now, at the top, where two flights of steps led down to the tiers of seats, while a chamber between these steps was probably filled by a little temple, open to the body of the theatre. Remains of such a temple have been found in other theatres and it is noteworthy that in the Spanish bull-rings which are the last relic of the Roman amphitheatres, in their turn of Etruscan derivation, the little chapel where the torrero kneels before he enters the arena is in a similar position. From the steps branched two gangways, from each of which three doors led to other gangways, and a flight of stairs probably gave access to a gallery which ran round the building. In the doorways can still be seen the holes for the double gates and bars which closed them. Between the higher and the lower tiers was another gangway and below yet another separated the reserved stalls



Brugi, Photo.

RUINS OF THEATRE
Fiesole

from the pit. A railing ran down beside the steps by which the spectators descended to their places, as can be seen by the holes in the stones where it was fixed.

The cave-like spaces at the back of the tiers of seats are formed by buttress walls supporting the back of the theatre and were not open in antiquity. There was a well in this part of the building with pipes conducting water into the theatre for the convenience of the audience. A wall probably ornamented with statues ran along in front of the stalls beyond which is a ditch for the curtain which was rolled up on a great cylinder and raised, not lowered in the present manner. On the stage can be noticed the traces of the side supports for the scenes which were triangular and turned round according to the particular scene which was to be presented to the spectators. At the back was a fixed scene with doors through which the actors passed, and a portico, the bases of whose pillars can still be seen, ran along the back. The length and width of the theatre are the same, sixty-six metres, and two thousand five hundred spectators could be accommodated. After admiring this beautiful and interesting ruin, a sunk walk on the left brings one to the too scanty remains of a temple or rather of two temples. A flight of steps and the bases of some columns are all that remain, the body of the

temple was utterly destroyed when the road which runs down the hill behind it was made. In front of the steps however are two curious relics, one is a large primitive altar covered (it does not appear for what reason) by a casing of masonry: the massive sculptured form of the altar can be clearly seen from the two sides underneath the casing. Guerri suggests that it may have been thus enclosed either to preserve it because it was an object of great sanctity, or merely to form the solid foundation of another altar afterwards put on the top of it. Between this altar and the temple façade an excavation has been made which discloses the relics of a more ancient temple, small, as were the oldest shrines, with a little altar marvellously well preserved where libations and incense were offered to the god. These ruins are evidently of the highest antiquity and probably go back to the very foundation of the city. There are vestiges of an ancient city gate close by and this was probably the temple of the god which it was the custom to erect beside it.

Turning to the right on leaving the theatre one arrives at the baths or *thermae*. A long tank is first reached which was probably the public bath and this is followed by a second. Two cisterns for the conservation of water had a quantity of broken pottery at the bottom which served to filter the water. The bases of the pillars of a portico run

along the south side. Three arches of the front of the covered part of the bath-house have been set up again. The shattered marble slabs which covered all the interior were found lying about; a semi-circular bath and the channels for letting the water run off the pavement and thus keeping it dry can be seen. The furnaces with all the apparatus for heating the baths can be examined and one cannot but compare the admirable facilities for cleanliness offered to the ancient inhabitants of Italy with the deficiency of later times. That these baths as well as the theatre were still used in Roman times there is no doubt, but the attribution of them to the Romans does not accord with the insignificance into which Fiesole fell after the conquest. Such works are commenced and perfected by a people in their prosperity not when ruined by foreign conquest. No doubt repairs were executed in the fleeting renaissance of the Empire; then darkness fell and the upkeep of temples, theatres and baths alike was too onerous for a population impoverished and diminished by war and advancing barbarism; and the ruins lay prostrate.

Curiously enough the cemetery, usually the best known and often the only spot where intact memorials of the past are to be found, has not been discovered outside Fiesole. Scattered tombs have been found here and there but the great necropolis which a town

of the importance of Fiesole naturally formed around it is not to be seen. Whether in the extensive quarrying, which has gone on for centuries and goes on to-day in the hill-sides round Fiesole, all relics of the rock-hewn tombs have been torn away with pick and blast, or whether the last resting places of the citizens lie hid under the vineyards and olive-clad slopes and luxuriant villa gardens around, covered with too rich a soil to be disturbed, is doubtful. What is certain is that no streets of tombs, no rock-hewn façades, no tumuli nor terraced approaches lie open for our exploration. The sunny hill-sides keep their secrets and the citizens of Fiesole dwell on their hill-top breathing its reviving air and rejoicing in the panorama of the valley of the Arno and its encircling hills and mountains, concerning themselves little with the vanished nation and bygone civilization on whose relics their town is planted. In the small museum on the Piazza is an interesting collection of the objects turned up from time to time in tilling the ground or digging foundations.

Bologna. Felsina. Bononia. Bologna, as I have stated, lies outside the scope of this book, but as most travellers pass through it, either on leaving or arriving at Florence, I will, in a few words, call attention to its importance, so that it may not be passed by unobserved; though I attempt no detailed description of its museums and cemeteries. More

controversy has arisen about the remains in and about the city and on the subject of its origin and connection with that of the Etruscans than has been the fate of any other site except that of Rome itself. Was it a chief city of the Umbrians before they moved south; did the Etruscans arrive there on their entrance into Italy; who were the people of the Villanuova sepulchres? These and many other queries are still partially unanswered and form part of a vast field of enquiry bound up with that of the origin of all the Italic peoples. I must not attempt to do more than direct attention to a few of the directions in which research is carried on and to the connection of the city of Felsina with the other cities of the Etruscan League. The Roman name of the town was Bononia and, as usual, it was probably built a little way off the Etruscan Felsina. Pliny calls Bononia the chief city of Etruria, referring of course to Etruria Circumpadana. The position of Felsina exposed it to the attacks of the Gauls by whom it was taken in the fourth century B.C. and it came under Roman dominion in 196 B.C. Excavations reveal relics of past civilizations not only in the present town but in all the surrounding country.

The cemetery at Villanuova on the property of Count Gozzadini eight kilometres from Bologna has given its name to a type of civilization indicated

by the nature of the objects found in its tombs. Prof. Orioli of Bologna observed many years ago that this civilization possessed characteristics which were not Etruscan, and many are the conjectures which have been made and the theories started to account for these divergencies. The dead are burned and the ashes enclosed in urns which differ in form from those in the well-tombs in Etruria proper. Some are in the form of two cones united at the base, others are shaped like helmets, those which have the common form of a jar differ in detail, many are decorated with systematic geometric ornament. There is a large quantity of beaten or hammered bronze, but there is little iron and on some of the objects there are alphabetic signs. Hut-urns are not found. This civilization seems to come between the rude customs of the people of the primitive well-tombs and the later Etruscan culture, but it does not exactly mark an evolution from one to the other as it is not found in the greater part of Etruria proper where the primitive well-tombs exist side by side with the genuine Etruscan. The hut-urns, which are not Villanuovan, are found in the Vetulonian well-tombs, in the primitive cemeteries on the Esquiline, at Alba and scattered throughout southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia. The problem of the Villanuovan civilization which seems to have centred round Bologna awaits solution; but Modestow

suggests that they were the original Umbrians. They are quite distinct from the people of the terramare, who, according to Modestow, went south by the valley of the Tiber and were the founders of Rome; they may even have penetrated as far as Tarento, where a terramare is said to have been discovered by Quagliati in 1899. The terramare are the heaps of deposit formed by the refuse of villages built on piles which fell through the flooring and collected under the houses. The people who built in this manner inhabited the marshy plains of the Po, the nature of the soil leading them to build in this way, a method first noticed in the lake villages of Switzerland. Everything they did not want, bones and other refuse of food, broken crockery, implements and weapons, contributed to these primitive rubbish-heaps partly by accident partly by design and when the space was full that separated the flooring from the ground or swamp below, they either moved on to another place, or raised a higher platform above the first and went on living on it. These deposits, which must have been exceedingly nasty and insanitary to live over, are now valuable stores from which to draw material for the study of the habits and customs of the inhabitants of these villages.

At Ronzano, Marzibotto and Misano important finds and fragments of roads, buildings and tombs

indicate centres of habitation. The chief point of interest at present however lies in the Certosa, once a Carthusian monastery secularized by Napoleon, and now used as the public cemetery of Bologna. While digging a grave in the part dedicated to pauper burials in 1869, the grave-digger came on an ancient sepulchre which called attention to the place; excavations were begun which have been continued ever since and have resulted in the discovery of a vast necropolis containing innumerable tombs. Four strata of graves have been uncovered ranging from the most ancient well-tombs to the later distinctively Etruscan types.

The cemeteries and museums of Bologna are particularly interesting on account of the variety of their contents which present a series of objects beginning as we have seen from the remotest antiquity. In the cemeteries the various modes of burial can be observed, both cremation and inhumation being represented in various forms. The museums are particularly rich in bronzes. This is not surprising when we consider the enormous find made by Cav. Antonio Zannoni in the town of Bologna itself.

While excavating to make a drain under the Piazza San Francesco he came upon an immense terra-cotta receptacle which contained no less than 14,800 bronze objects. They were all packed closely

together and covered with a layer of cork and consisted of arms, utensils, tools, ornaments, moulds, masses of bronze ready for casting and some half finished objects. Various conjectures have been made to account for the packing together of so heterogeneous a collection. Cav. Zannoni suggests that they were the plant, materials and wares of a factory gathered together and hidden during the Gallic invasion. Other writers have seen in them the treasures of a temple, but this explanation does not account for the moulds, the unfinished objects or the lumps of bronze, whereas the votive idols and other temple furniture might very well be part of the goods made in the factory. Archaic forms in votive offerings are traditional and continue to be reproduced for long periods.

It will be seen by the few indications I have given how great and varied is the archaeological interest centred round Bologna. To treat it adequately it should be studied in connection with the terramare of the valley of the Po and the discoveries made from time to time in the Rhaetian Alps. In the meantime we must unwillingly turn our backs on its museums and cemeteries and return to the consideration of Etruria proper and Umbria where there is enough to occupy our attention for the present. In the small hill-towns of Tuscany it is easy to follow the plan of the original city and for

this, if for no other reason, it is better to begin the study of the remote past in such places rather than in a large town like Bologna, though its museums and the cemetery of the Certosa yield in interest to no other sites.

Taking Florence again as a starting-point, we start southwards by the main line to Rome. This line follows first the valley of the Arno and leaving it at Arezzo (where it turns northwards to its source in the flanks of Monte Falterona) runs down the valley of the Chiana, skirting Lake Trasimene past Chiusi to Orvieto, where it joins the Tiber and so continues to Rome. In this way it touches the frontiers of Tuscany and Umbria, a region rich in Etruscan remains. On the one hand lies the province of Umbria traversed lengthwise by the chain of the Apennines, a land of mountains and valleys, whose towns crown hill-tops or cling to the sides of the mountains, the home of a people so closely united to the Etruscans as to form practically one nation; on the other lie the ranges of the Tuscan hills, rising here and there to the height of mountains, and beyond the great plain of Maremma stretching to the sea. On this route the first place of any importance with Etruscan associations is Arezzo.

Arezzo. Arretium. Arezzo, the Arretium of antiquity, is a town about which we are told so much by ancient writers, that it is rather dis-

appointing to find so little visible of its past in the place itself. We know that it was one of the twelve cities of the League and that it took part in many of the wars with Rome, sometimes apparently on the one side and sometimes on the other; in the end, however, it threw in its lot with its own nation and fought the Romans, only to share the Etruscan defeats at Rusellae and Trasimene. It is probable that the Etruscan city did not occupy exactly the site of the Roman one, though we have no record of any such transference. The situation lacks the abruptness of the characteristic Etruscan site; even the highest part near the cathedral, where the arx would be placed, is relatively easy of access. This may be however an exceptional site and in that case it would account for the changing sides of the Arretini who, in their relatively undefended position, had no resource but to make terms with the enemy, when he approached too near. There are a few fragments of ancient masonry in the city but it is doubtful if they are genuinely Etruscan. A piece of old wall and the foundations of a house were found near the Piazza Guido Monaco. There was a manufactory of pottery, which continued to work during the Roman domination. An immense number of fragments have been found of a light coral red with a very fine glaze and decorated with graceful designs in relief. The site of a factory was dis-

covered near where the present Infant School is situated and traces of a furnace in the Via degli Albergoti. The decoration and forms of this ware do not indicate great antiquity, it has a Pompeian grace and lightness in the arabesques and garlands with which it is decorated, no Etruscan inscriptions are found on it. Fragments of a ware of coarser grain and less delicate design indicating a manufacture earlier than the Roman occupation have been dug up on the Piazza del Popolo.

The cemetery is thought to have been situated on a spot called the Poggio del Sole but tombs have been found in other directions. The museum contains a great many bronzes and votive offerings. There is also some bucchero and red ware from Sarteano. Most of the really important objects have been allowed to be carried away and adorn the Florence Museum, where, it will be remembered, the Minerva and the Chimaera both of Arezzan derivation are to be found. The fact is, that wherever the medieval city was large and flourishing the Etruscan remains are scanty and poor. For the materials of the old buildings were used for the new constructions and the buried treasures of the tombs dug up before their interest was appreciated, and scattered or destroyed.

From Arezzo two excursions can be made which, if not of great importance to the study of our subject,

are yet interesting enough to merit a few words of description.

One can be made by taking the little branch railway which runs up the Casentino Valley from Arezzo to Stia. This valley was thoroughly Etruscan and though little explored by archaeologists, enough has been found by mere accident to prove that if excavated systematically much might be discovered. It is very improbable however that this will be done, for it is not likely that an isolated valley without large towns would yield many sufficiently valuable objects to reward the collector, and the state has enough to do on more important sites. In the meantime, the results of the finds which have been made here have (with unaccountable lack of local patriotism) been allowed to go out of the district and even out of the country. The great discovery, which I have already mentioned, of votive objects at the bottom of Lake Ciliegi, was made on Monte Falterona, the great mountain which towers over the little town of Stia and blocks up the end of the valley to the north. The whole of this collection was sold and sent out of Italy and is now in St Petersburg, where probably not one person in a thousand who visits the Museum where it is placed knows or cares anything about it. Had these objects been kept in the Casentino, or even at Arezzo, they would have gained the enhanced value that

association gives, and stimulated curiosity as to the site of the temple which analogy tells us would inevitably rise in the neighbourhood of lake or spring whose healing waters led so many pilgrims to leave their offerings on the site. As the place itself is somewhat inaccessible, it is more than probable that the shrine was a mere mountain cella with a statue of the god or goddess of the spring, but in the valley below indications of more sumptuous temples might be sought.

As the eye ranges over the foot-hills, which flank the valley, several distinctively Etruscan sites strike the eye. The projecting shoulder of the hill abruptly scarped, the neck of high land also probably artificially rendered steeper connecting the main height with the hill behind, even the tumulus-shaped hillock over against it and the streams winding round the base; all these signs are visible at Poppi, Romena, and, less obviously, at other places along the valley. Comparing these with all the other undoubted Etruscan sites, we cannot believe that they are only natural features and owe nothing to the fostering hand of man, which, here as elsewhere in Etruria, has not changed but merely accentuated the original lines of hill and valley, rock and stream. That this is true of Poppi and Romena no room is left for doubt, as Etruscan remains have been found in the neighbourhood of both. At Poppi the

medieval castle still occupies the position of the arx, and built into the house of the proposto or parish priest are some remnants of a very early church which probably occupied the place of a temple. The vases and other objects which were found some years ago and unfortunately dispersed came from Certomondo, formerly a Franciscan convent about half a mile away, which was probably from its situation part of the Etruscan cemetery. Only ruins remain on the summit of the hill at Romena, its castle having been destroyed by the Florentines, but here also vases and bronzes, all sold and dispersed as soon as found, have been discovered. The land about here belonging to peasant proprietors, who take much more interest in their vineyards than in any archaeological discoveries, it is very unlikely that anything in the way of exploration which would involve the rooting up of their precious vines would be encouraged by them.

In the churches of Stia, Strada and Romena there are some very singular sculptures which merit more attention than has been bestowed on them. The churches are Romanesque, they date from the twelfth century and are interesting, with their small round apses, ancient masonry and characteristic roofs and columns, as specimens of the period and class of architecture they represent. The capitals of the columns are even more curious. Nothing can equal

the rudeness and naïf unhandiness of the sculptors, they are the merest hewers of stone and knew nothing of the technique of their art: but a close observation shows that they had taken as their models the designs and symbolic decoration of ancient sculpture, whose motives they have used in their rough fashion. Who can say what exquisite fragments of ancient sculpture were before the eyes of these stone-masons, painfully evolving the art of sculpture from the night of barbarism, fragments long since broken up to mend roads, having served their purpose in waking up the artistic sense of their finders after the sleep of centuries?

The other excursion from Arezzo is that to Gubbio, which is reached by a local railway crossing the valley of the Tiber and passing by Borgo San Sepolero and Città di Castello into the heart of Umbria.

Gubbio or Iguvia was an Umbrian town of some importance but its chief interest for the archaeologist and philologist is the famous Eugubian tables which hang in the Palazzo del Pretorio and which I have described in the chapter on the Etruscan religion. Little remains that can be definitely assigned to the original Umbrian city, the highest of the three towns which have successively occupied the slopes of Monte Calvo; the masonry of massive construction which can be traced along the hillside outside one of the

gates of the present town belonged, no doubt, to portions of its walls. The medieval town, which occupies the middle place between Umbrian and Roman, is built out of the ruins of the others and contains some of the most wonderful buildings of the thirteenth and fourteenth century architects, but these I must pass by. Down below at the foot of the hill are some very picturesque ruins of the Roman town. A theatre, of which the entire semi-circle of seats, the disposition of the stage and many of the arches and gates are still standing, lies in a charming situation amongst olive trees and vineyards and near it are the remains of a bath and a round tower-like mass of masonry, which is supposed to have contained a tomb. Many stories of subterranean passages and chambers are told and receive some confirmation from the accounts of the discovery of the Eugubian tables in the fifteenth century in an underground hall ornamented with mosaics. High above the town on a shelf in the mountain side is the monastery of S. Ubaldo, which probably succeeded the temple of Jove Grabovius whose name occurs so often on the Eugubian tables. The very curious and significant festival of the Ceri which is held on May 16 in Gubbio has evidently a pagan origin and is connected with this monastery. The Ceri or Towers which are carried in procession through the town on the feast-day are kept there

for the rest of the year, being brought down the day before and taken back again after the ceremonies are over. Though not an Etruscan town in the strict sense of the term, Gubbio is closely associated with Etruscan antiquity, the division between Umbrian and Etruscan being so very slight. The neighbourhood of Perugia, one of the twelve cities of the League not twenty miles away, must have brought all this part of Umbria entirely under Etruscan influence.

Cortona. Cortona is a few stations after Arezzo and is situated about half way between Arezzo and Chiusi. It is perched high above the valley on a spur of the mountain range which divides the valley of the Arno from that of the Tiber. The ancient walls of quadrilateral sandstone masonry are visible for about two-thirds of the circuit of the town, which occupies to-day the same site as in the past. These are the best preserved and most impressive remains of the characteristic Etruscan walls of quadrilateral masonry that survive. Old writers recount many fabulous stories about the origin of Cortona; it is attributed to Pelasgians and Umbrians by turns and no doubt was one of the cities occupied from the remotest antiquity by the aboriginal population whoever they were; but the evidence of its stones is conclusive, and its inclusion by all authorities among the twelve chief cities of the Etruscan League

is not needed to support the manifest fact that the Cortona whose remains we see was built by Etruscan architects. The tombs at Cortona as elsewhere are hollowed in the slopes beneath the town. The most remarkable is the so-called Tanella di Pitagora, a chamber entered by a square-headed doorway and not quarried in the living rock, but built of huge blocks of masonry and vaulted on the primitive horizontal principle, with immense stones measuring about ten feet in length. The original doors were like those of the Colle Casuccini tomb at Chiusi, but they have been removed. Tumuli and round tombs have been found in the neighbourhood and at the foot of the hill. A mound called the Melon was explored in 1842 and tombs found within, approached by long corridors. The masonry with which they are lined is not the great quadrilateral blocks of the Tanella but, though mortarless, composed of small stones roughly chipped into the form of bricks. The roof is vaulted in the primitive manner with horizontal courses of stone and closed at the top by flat stones laid on the top. Arms of iron and bronze and some pottery were found in these tombs, but no objects of value, as they had been rifled many times already. The pottery found at Cortona does not present any special features, but the tombs seem to have been more rich in bronzes. One of the most beautiful bronze lamps of Etruscan origin was found

in a ditch not far from Cortona, on the road to Montepulciano. It is a hanging lamp, or lamps, for there are sixteen small lamps surrounding a large central receptacle from which they are fed. In design and workmanship it is of the highest artistic quality. The ancient symbolic, so-called, Gorgon face with rolling eyes, protruding tongue and serpent hair, is worked into the base and encircled by a zone of animals including wolves, griffins, boars, stags and leopards, one of which is devouring a bull, while outside are dolphins disporting in a wave-like decoration. It will be seen that all the forms of the most ancient symbolic decoration are worked into this remarkable lamp. It weighs more than one hundred and fifty pounds, and is the glory of the little museum at Cortona. There are a few remains of ancient masonry built into the cellars of the town but these naturally are not to be seen. Cortona is always spoken of by classical writers as one of the oldest cities of Etruria and its importance is vouched for by the fact that it was one of the cities included in the monetary league, as we see by its Etruscan name Curt on the coins.

After Cortona the next station is Terontola, and here the line branches for Perugia, which can be visited thence or later on from Orte, where the Ancona line joins the Florence one, and united continues direct to Rome. I will describe Perugia

now, as my itinerary takes the traveller after Orte by another branch westward to Viterbo, before continuing to Rome.

The railway skirts Lake Trasimeno, round which many Etruscan remains have been found, amongst others the bronze statue of the Aringatore or Orator in the Florence Museum.

Perugia. Perusia. The capital of Umbria from its commanding situation, crowning a high elevation, dominates the valley of Spoleto and enjoys an exquisite view of the surrounding ranges of the Umbrian mountains. All this country, inhabited by the Umbrians, the allies of the Etruscans and the sharers of their civilization, is full of interesting archaeological remains which may well be included under the head of Etruscan, for no line of demarcation can be drawn between the sister peoples. I must however exclude Umbria as I have excluded Etruria Circumpadana and Etruria Campaniana from these pages, only giving a brief sketch of Perugia itself, since, as one of the twelve cities of the League and bordering so closely on Etruria proper, it must be allowed to come within the boundaries which I have had to impose. The Umbrian country which begins here does not differ widely from the Tuscan, except in a certain suavity of outline and delicacy of colouring which is exclusively Umbrian and influences the nature of its people and the character of its art.

Though Perugia possesses two at least of the best known remains of Etruscan antiquity in the famous arch of Augustus and the tomb of the Volumnii, yet at first sight its origin is more difficult to trace than that of some abandoned sites. Like Fiesole and Volterra, and unlike many similar towns, it occupies the original Etruscan site, and consequently its buildings have been all overbuilt by new towns, Roman, medieval and modern, which have succeeded each other on the spot. Nevertheless some splendid fragments of the genuine quadrilateral, mortarless masonry exist in the walls which follow their ancient line round the town; in one part near Porta San Girolamo a block forty feet high of the Etruscan work subsists. The magnificent arch of Augustus, so called from the words "Augusta Perusia" inscribed over the arch, was restored by the Emperor Augustus as the inscription shows, but the lower part is Etruscan. The signs of burning which can be found on its stones are supposed to date from the fire which destroyed the city, after it had been starved out and forced to capitulate in 40 B.C. Of the other gates, three have foundations of Etruscan masonry; the Porta Marzia in the Via Baglioni was taken down when the citadel (now pulled down) was built by Paul III, but his architect Sangallo would not allow it to be destroyed, so it was rebuilt with the same stones.



Alinari, photo.

PORTA DI AUGUSTO
Perugia

Cemeteries naturally surrounded the city but most of the tombs were re-covered with earth, after their contents had been removed to the Museum. A necropolis was discovered in 1887 at a place called Braccio and excavations were also made at Osteria. At Civitello d' Arna, between Perugia and the Tiber, excavations have revealed the existence of a city of a very remote date.

The tomb of the Volumnii is the only one which the majority of visitors go to see. It is indeed so complete a specimen of the corridor tomb in its fullest development, that as a rule it satisfies the curiosity of the general public. It is situated on the high road between Perugia and Assisi, near the Tiber, which flows in the valley at the foot of the hill on which Perugia stands, and is close to the little station of Ponte di San Giovanni. A long flight of steps descends to its door which is closed by a slab of travertine. Inside it consists of nine chambers opening from a central hall, which has a roof carved into an imitation of beams and rafters. On one of the doorposts is an Etruscan inscription in red, which records the names, Arnth and Larth Velimnas. The square urns within show that burning was the custom of the family; some of the urns are in travertine covered with stucco and others in alabaster and have effigies on the lid, in one case a female sits in a chair while others are in the usual half-lying position. All have inscriptions and one is

bi-lingual. The name Velimnas is repeated again and again in Etruscan letters and in the bi-lingual inscription we see its Latin equivalent Volumnius. The urns are all in the first hall or chamber and in one other, the rest are empty; whether there were urns in the others which were removed in antiquity, for this tomb was intact when discovered, or whether the family was wiped out in the wars during and succeeding the Roman invasion and its burial place abandoned does not appear. These empty chambers are decorated with sculptures and reliefs and have benches for the reception of urns, just as the others have. The chief interest this tomb excites does not spring from its great antiquity, as does that of the Campana tomb at Veii, or from peculiarities in vaulting or other architectural features, but from the fact that it gives us such a perfect example of the characteristic Etruscan corridor tomb at the highest period of evolution, just before the nation, with its native art, customs and religion, was swamped by foreign invasion. The bi-lingual inscription shows that it was used for a while after the Roman occupation. Various other tombs are to be seen, but they do not offer any very striking peculiarities.

We see by the urns found in them that cremation was the usual custom at Perugia, but the reliefs and other sculptures do not show anything superior or even equal to what may be seen in other places. In fact, notwithstanding its size and importance, Perugia

does not seem to have been an artistic centre in Etruscan times. The number and elaboration of articles for toilet and domestic use shows the wealth and luxurious habits of its citizens, which seems to prove that its period of greatest prosperity was at rather a late date, when luxury rather than artistic perfection was the ideal of its inhabitants.

This is the more likely as little of its history in Etruscan times has been handed down by tradition. It is mentioned as having resisted Fabius when he crossed the Ciminian forest and penetrated into Umbria and its defenders were defeated by him about 310 B.C. From this time onwards it rose up again and again, allied with Clusium, Cortona and Arezzo, in opposition to the Roman conquerors. During the second Punic war it was bled along with the other Etruscan cities, to furnish supplies for Scipio's fleet.

Under Augustus, the city, which had again rebelled, was reduced by famine and burnt to the ground. Augustus rebuilt it, and it was then that the inscription "Augusta Perusia" was placed over the arch called by his name.

A Roman colony was planted but the vitality of the city was exhausted and it fell like the other Etruscan towns, a sacrifice to the passion for universal dominion, which led at last conquerors and conquered to a common and disastrous end.

The Etruscan Museum is in the University. There is a large collection of pottery, bronzes and sepulchral urns. The longest Etruscan inscription ever found is here; it consists of forty-five lines engraved on two sides of a slab of travertine and the letters are coloured red. Fine painted vases are rare at Perugia, those with reliefs are more common. Among the bronzes is a very ancient relief which Milani interprets as representing the symbol of Rhea-Cybele and compares it with similar sculptured reliefs at Bologna, Mycenae and Crete. There are few long sarcophagi in the museum; the Perugians cremated their dead usually and consequently urns or small and oblong ash-chests are the rule. There are not many notable carved reliefs, but a great number of inscriptions, in fact whenever the key to the Etruscan language is discovered the Perugian urns and tombs will furnish one of the richest sources of documents for the philologist to decipher. There are a certain number of Latin inscriptions in tombs of Etruscan families, bearing witness to the gradual adoption of the language of the conquerors by the vanquished.

The silver and bronze plates found at Castel San Mariano with reliefs of mythological personages, animals, deities and arabesques are very curious; they seem to have been part of the decoration and furniture of the tomb of a person of importance.

CHAPTER VII

CHIUSI, ORVIETO, VITERBO AND MAREMMA

RETURNING from Perugia to Terontola, and then rejoining the main line, the next place to visit is Chiusi, the Etruscan Camars, called by the Romans Clusium. To most of us its name, with Volterra, has been made familiar in our youth by Macaulay, in his *Lays of Ancient Rome*; it is the first name of an Etruscan city that many of us ever heard. Unlike Perugia, and like Cortona, it has a reputation for high antiquity among Roman and Greek writers. It was either one of the first cities founded by the Etruscans or, more likely, already existed before they included it in their League. Its powerful Lars Porsenna rendered its name illustrious; though we are no longer allowed to regard as historical the events handed down by tradition, and retold by Macaulay in stirring verse, yet the existence of such traditions shows the importance of Camars and the renown of its lucumon or governor in the remote past.

Chiusi. Clusium. Camars. It is undoubtedly one of the places in which a general view of the whole subject of Etruscan remains may profitably be studied. Therefore anyone who is obliged to limit the number of sites visited should on no account omit it. The situation is not so striking as that of Orvieto, there are fewer tombs open to inspection than at Corneto, and the museum, though well arranged and rich, is small, but there is a conjunction of different features seldom found together, which are too precious to be missed. The modern town occupies the site of the arx; that it spreads no further is not by reason of the abrupt isolation which cliffs rising from the plain effect, for, except on one side, the descents are not precipitous, but because the surrounding marshes became so deadly during the Middle Ages, that the town was almost deserted, and it is only since the draining of the valley of the Chiana in the last century that it again became habitable. These swamps were occasioned by the drying up of the great lake, a rival to the neighbouring Trasimeno, which once bathed the foot of the slopes. Looking out from the medieval tower, which now stands on the summit of the ancient arx, one can trace the outline of the lake on the flat bottom of the valley, and the shapes of the hills surrounding which still preserve the form of headlands. When, instead of woods, the terraced buildings of a great town clothed them, and Camars

the noble city, whose ruler rallied the clans to war and whose temples were among the great shrines of the nation, was mirrored in the calm waters, the prospect must have been impressive in the highest degree. The original size of the city can only be guessed, as no circuit of walls can be traced; the fragments under the cathedral and the Palazzo Paolezzi gardens only represent the fortifications of the arx, and probably those of a great temple in the same enclosure, but the city itself must have spread in all directions protected by the natural barrier of the lake, and by canals conducted from it between ridges and mounds, crowned by buildings. The long distances separating the tombs or groups of tombs from each other, testifies to the size of the town, for the cemeteries, as we have seen, always began immediately outside the inhabited area. Of the many thousands of sepulchres hidden under these wooded hills, only a few are open to inspection, but these few are in splendid preservation and wonderfully interesting. I have described the best of them, in the chapters on sepulchres and painting, it only remains to say a few words about their situation. As usual, it is on foot they must be sought, and I would warn explorers not to take too literally the hopeful words of "vetturini," who, to induce them to hire their vehicles, will assure them they can drive close to the tombs. In no case are the tombs

near the carriage road, a scramble along rough paths is required to reach them, and in the case of some it is really quite as near to walk from Chiusi direct as to drive the long round, only to have to retrace your steps through the woods above. The tomb of the Colle Casuccini is only about a mile from the town; it is reached from a by-road leading past the modern cemetery, and from it a foot-path leads to the house of the peasant who keeps the key. The Scimia and Granduca tombs are also within a walk through the woods; the key of the first is kept by the custode of the Museum, as it belongs to the government, the other, being private property, is opened by the peasant, near whose house it is. Besides these already described tombs, there is a tomb called the Vigna Grande, of the same type as the Granduca, but without the interesting contents in the shape of urns and inscriptions. It was, like the Colle Casuccini and Scimia, rifled in bygone ages. There are two tombs called the Poggio al Moro and tomb of Valdaqua, on the road leading to Sarteano, but they have been so neglected as hardly to repay the trouble of visiting. The first is frescoed, and the decorations, when discovered, show it to have been equal in interest to the Scimia and Colle, but unfortunately it was one of the first discovered, being unearthed in 1827, and interest in archaeology at that time at Chiusi was too little awakened to ensure the pro-



Mosconi, photo.

COLLE CASUCCINI TOMB
Chiusi

tection of the tombs themselves, after their contents had been removed. The Scimia tomb is curiously deeply excavated in the ground; originally it was approached by a long passage, but a way in has been dug from the top of the hill, and one now descends twenty-seven modern steps to the ancient door, after which there are three ancient ones.

There is a mass of ancient masonry opposite the Duomo, resting on Etruscan foundations, and various underground chambers, in different parts of the town, are doubtless the remains of the houses of the old town. These chambers and passages were supposed, formerly, to be relics of the labyrinth of Porsenna; if we take that legendary monument to have the resemblance to the palace at Knossos, suggested by Mr Burrows, and regard it as the Vatican of a primitive priest-king, then this may well be the case. As it is, the ruins are too effectually covered up by the buildings of the town to afford us any reliable information. The Poggio Gaiella, which was identified by another group of archaeologists with the tomb of Porsenna, lies about three miles from Chiusi; it is also full of underground passages and chambers, but no inscriptions or other relics connecting it with any particular person or family have been found. When opened it contained some very fine vases and a few articles of jewellery and bronze. Now nothing of interest is to be seen, the passages are low and

dark, and difficult of access, and the wall-painting almost obliterated. It was undoubtedly the burial place of a great man, as the large central chamber is surrounded by passages and smaller tombs, probably of relations and dependents; but there are absolutely no remains of the fantastic structure described by Varro.

One may learn something from the Museum, which, though not large, has the merit, in common with all local museums, of calling attention to the special characteristics of the site, which may be overlooked in the mixed collections of large museums. The urns and sepulchres in stone and terra-cotta give us a series of effigies and reliefs, beginning with the very early and rude up to a period of high artistic development.

The relation of early Etruscan to early Egyptian sculptured art is very obvious; the forms of the canopës, the rigidity of the attitudes, especially of the sitting figures, all suggest points of comparison which it is instructive to notice and criticize.

Urn and sarcophagi of stone (travertine or sandstone), terra-cotta, alabaster and even marble are represented. Traces of colour are to be seen on most, showing they were originally coloured. Some of the reliefs give side-lights on Etruscan customs, religious rites, and, in some cases, incidents either historical or personal. No. 1013 appears to be of the latter class; the gate of a city is represented,



Missioni, photo.

IUCCHERO NERO

Chiusi

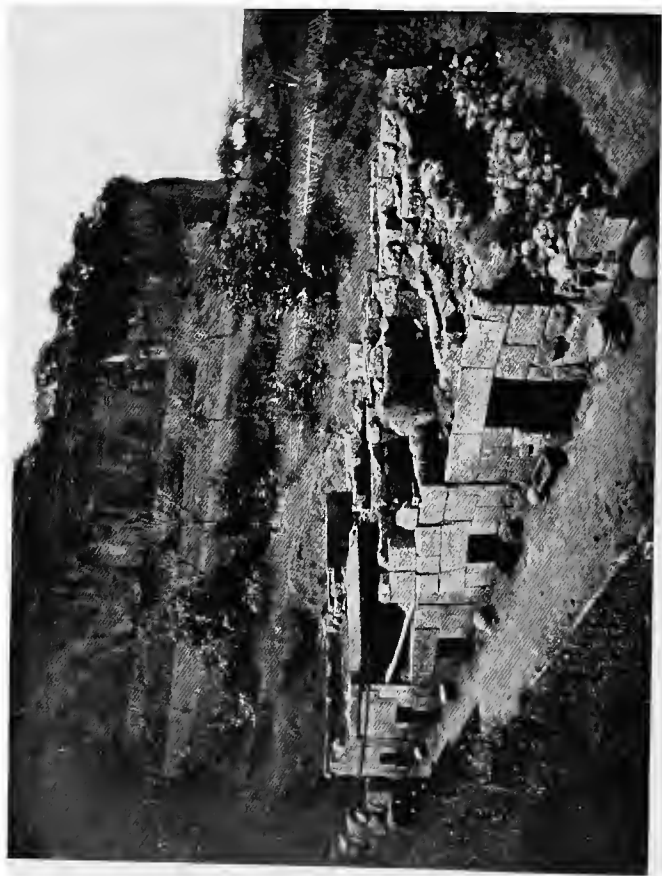
and a warrior covering himself with a shield attacks, while another defends, the city wall, and 958 shows us a lady at her toilette assisted by three maids.

Many represent legends which we know of in Greek mythology, but others as 2272^d are evidently Etruscan legends, now lost to us. The representation of an Etruscan wedding already described under the head of sculpture is particularly worthy of examination. That there were large pottery and jewellery factories at Chiusi we know; many specimens of the former can be seen in the Museum, but the jewellery was either removed in bygone ages or sold into other collections. A few specimens, however, remain, and are exposed in a glass case. In one instance, an effigy still has a gold ear-ring in one ear, from which we may conclude that many were originally adorned with jewellery. There are also a number of tiles inscribed with the name of the deceased and used as coverings to the graves of poor people.

A number of tombs were discovered in 1877, in an estate called Montebello belonging to the Casuccini family; they are not now to be seen, but when opened were found to contain remains of frescoes and inscriptions. The effigy of Larthia Seientes, now in the Florence Museum, came from one of these. The splendid Casuccini collection, which was formerly in the palace of the family at Chiusi, came into the market some time ago; it was bought by the Italian

government, but instead of being left on the spot, where all the surroundings would have rendered it doubly interesting and instructive, it was sent to Palermo, where it is hidden away unnoticed in a museum, whose interest lies in quite another artistic and archaeological direction.

Orvieto. Velznas. After Chiusi comes Orvieto, the Etruscan Velznas. It is one of the most imposing of the hill cities, crowning an eminence, completely surrounded by perpendicular cliffs. A funicular railway takes passengers up to the town, which is otherwise approached by one of those long winding roads, by which hill-towns are usually reached. This was one of the towns whose inhabitants were driven out at the Roman conquest in 270 B.C., and compelled to build a new city, which they did at Bolsena, some miles away. Owing to the existence of an Etruscan and a Roman city, the same confusion was caused as in other cases, and it is only within the last fifty years that the true attribution has been made, and the two sites, the Etruscan Velznas and the Roman Volsinii, distinguished. Until then Bolsena being identified as Velznas, the Etruscan designation of Orvieto, was vainly sought. The road leading from the old Etruscan town to the new one at Bolsena descends from the Porta Maggiore, the most ancient gate of the town, which still shows traces of its Etruscan origin. Turning to the right im-



Armonia Kallisti, photo

ETRUSCAN TOMBS
Orcus

mediately after passing through the gate, instead of continuing on the Bolsena road, one follows a path under the cliffs and presently arrives at the spot on the grassy slope below the precipice, where a number of tombs have been excavated. These are arranged in a sort of street facing each other, and are simple square chambers, formed of large quadrilateral masses of stone. Leaving by the southern gate called the Porta Romana, another cemetery is reached, in which the painted tombs called the Sette Camine were found. Reproductions of the frescoes of these tombs are to be seen in the Museums of Florence and Orvieto. They consist of the usual scenes of feasts, with musicians, and in one there is a very realistic picture of an Etruscan kitchen with the cook preparing the dinner.

From the road to Bolsena another road branches, leading to Vulci; on one side of it are more tombs and the remains of a large building supposed to have been baths, the conduits for the water still existing; a little further on are the remains of a temple. The cemeteries as yet very partially explored are of vast extent; excavations in territory formerly belonging to the monastery of S. Giovanale and in the estates of Mancini and Braccardi have resulted in the discovery of a number of buildings and tombs. Many of the tombs have inscriptions on the architraves of the doorways; on one is the epitaph *Mi larthurus*

Tarchveteras, wherein the conjunction of the two frequently-occurring names Tarch and Veteres is interesting.

The museum in the Palazzo dell' Opera del Duomo has some interesting Etruscan pottery and bronzes, and also some frescoes copied from tombs and sarcophagi. The most interesting collection of Etruscan antiquities is however in the Palazzo Faino, where there is a fine and beautifully arranged collection filling all the top floor of the palace. The pottery begins with a quantity of rough light red ware decorated in bands of red or yellow, which develops into a fine red or yellow with processions of archaic beasts and elaborate geometrical ornament.

There are many canopës like those at Chiusi and some square ash urns. One of the canopës has the hands crossed on the breast in a devout attitude, which goes quaintly with the caricature of a face which is all a canopë can boast of. There are a number of rather well made realistic terra-cotta pigs, the only ones I have noticed in an Etruscan museum. The bronze keys are also remarkable; there are a good many of different shapes. A model of a little house, with a steep high bronze roof supported on terra-cotta pillars with little bronze statues standing on the roof and on the extremities of the eaves, is particularly interesting as being possibly a model of a real house. The collection of bucchero is very

complete; there is the rough make, with white decorations and a whole series of the finest sort, magnificent large vases and graceful cups, jugs, jars and focolare fitted with the usual pretty little afternoon tea services, or what answered to them, in Etruria. There are a number of Greek vases and of Etruscan vases in Greek style, with yellow figures on a black ground, genii with wings decoratively used and queer animals with expressive human-like countenances. There are some oblong gold ornaments of thin embossed plates, and many ear-rings, stars and filigree spirals, tubes for making necklaces, amber beads, chains and rings. There are also a few scarabs. Altogether it is a very interesting museum, and gives a high idea of the culture and refinement of taste of the citizens of Velznas. The renown of the Duomo, its matchless façade and treasures of medieval art, tends to cast Orvieto's earlier glories into the background, and it is difficult to persuade the inhabitants that you have eyes for anything but what they take for granted you have come to see. It is indeed a place of such varied interest that the single night which the tourist usually devotes to it is all too short. Besides the students of art and archaeology, the geologist will find much to study. Orvieto is a sort of island of volcanic breccia, rising about twelve hundred and fifty feet above the sea, and under it on every side are Pliocene sub-Apennine

marls. Sections of igneous rock superposed on the tertiary marine formation can be seen all round the city.

Bolsena. An excursion can be made to Bolsena from Orvieto. The road is, as might be expected, flanked by many Etruscan remains which render it interesting. Fifty years ago Bolsena was regarded as the site of Etruscan Velz or Velznas, though there was even then some doubt about the matter, as it was known that here as at Veteres the Romans, after conquering the Etruscan city, had compelled its inhabitants to abandon the site and build another town elsewhere. Hence Volsinii, the Romanized town, could not occupy the exact site of Velz. It is now conclusively proved that Orvieto replaces Velz and Bolsena Volsinii.

Dennis writes: "To a practised eye it is evident at a glance that the Etruscan city did not occupy the site of Bolsena. The low rock on which the medieval castle stands is only large enough for a small fortress, and if that were the arx the city must have stood on the shores of the lake and on the slope of a long-drawn hill which rises behind it, a position of no natural strength and such as belonged to no city of Etruria, save those of Pelasgic origin on the coast, and which moreover was at variance with that of (Etruscan) Volsinii which was remarkable for its strength." He goes on to argue that, not being

the Etruscan, it was the Roman town, but cannot fix on a site for the former, though inclining to one near the lake called Il Piazzino, but he admits the remains there do not justify the attribution. He has however been proved right with regard to Roman Volsinii, which undoubtedly occupied the site of Bolsena. There are the ruins of a temple just outside one of the gates. This has been called the temple of Norzia because the Etruscan goddess Nortia is reputed to have had a shrine at Velznas. Now that Bolsena is known to be the site of Roman Volsinii and not Etruscan Velznas, we must assume that the Etruscan shrine of the goddess was at Orvieto and that this temple was raised in Roman times. Further from the town are the remains of the amphitheatre on a hill; it is not of any very great interest. The church of St Cristina probably occupies the site of another temple, as columns of blue and red granite have been found near, and a sarcophagus with a relief representing the triumph of Bacchus.

Orte. When the train is again taken from Orvieto, Rome is only a couple of hours distant, but all those interested in Etruscan ruins will do well to take the branch which leaves Orte for Viterbo, as by this means a number of most interesting sites can be visited. Orte is itself an Etruscan site, but there is nothing particular to see there, and the only place within reach of it which merits a visit is the

little lake of Bassano, yet this not for itself, but because it was the Vadimonian Lake of the Romans; here in 309 B.C. were fought the famous battles which ended so disastrously for the Etruscan arms. Pliny gives a minute description of this lake, which he says was remarkable for floating islands which changed their places and appeared and disappeared. The lake is however now nearly dried up and choked with rushes, and, except for its associations, has nothing remarkable about it. It lies on a small level plain, which forms a sort of passage between heights and was therefore a favourable position for the passage of an army, which explains the reason why the battles fought on its margin were of such vital importance.

Viterbo. Viterbo is within reach of a number of Etruscan sites. Lying itself on the slopes of the Ciminian mountains, it is above the unhealthy vapours desolating the great Etruscan plain, which stretches away to the north.

Once a thickly populated and fertile district, its luxuriant crops supplied food to a group of cities, which if not the largest were among the richest and most artistic of the confederation. We can picture these dismal swamps and wild tracts of thicket and moor, dotted with villages and country-houses, and dominated here and there by the splendid edifices of the cliff-bound towns, and noting the sweeping lines

of the hills, the winding rivers, the steep valleys and sudden crags, easily realize how such a country would lend itself to the needs of an artistic and pleasure-loving people. The view of the Etruscan plain seen from Monte Labbro, a spur of the great Monte Amiata, whose cone-like summit dominates the whole of Maremma, is only to be compared with that of the Vega of Granada from above the Generalife; and here there is an added element of beauty, for while the rich plain of the Vega has only the waters of its rivers gleaming in the sunlight, the lake of Bolsena lies like a silver shield, cast in the midst of the Etruscan plain, and on the western boundary the blue Mediterranean with lace-like indentations embraces the land.

Ferento. Ferentum. Ferento is distant about five miles from Viterbo. It was celebrated in Roman times as the birthplace of the Emperor Otto, but there is no mention of it among the Etruscan cities. Though continuing to exist under the Romans and consequently possessing remains of that date, it is yet proved by its tombs to have an Etruscan origin.

The theatre which renders Ferento celebrated, possesses, like that of Fiesole, a commanding situation; here the precipice, on whose edge the ruins lie, overlooks a wooded valley, and beyond stretch the deserts of Maremma bounded by distant mountains. Most imposing are the remains; the grand and

massive stage-front, which is 136 feet long, is in wonderful preservation; there are seven gates, and the first ten courses of the walls are of mortarless quadrilateral masonry; above there are restorations in Roman brickwork. Round the exterior of the auditorium runs a semi-circle of arches, twenty of which are standing, only six or seven being required to make the semi-circle complete. Vitruvius mentions Ferentum as being celebrated for the beauty of its public buildings, but this is all that has come down to us of those ancient beauties. Whether further excavations would reveal anything of importance is doubtful; probably the glory of Ferentum, like that of her sister sites, has perished beyond all hope of recall.

I have included Toscanella under the sites to be visited from the Pisa line, but, if found to fit in better with the arrangements of travellers, it can be reached by diligence from Viterbo in about three hours.

The group of sites which render the neighbourhood of Viterbo famous and make it imperative for the Etruscan student to pass this way is that of Castel d' Asso, Norchia and Bieda, where the façades of the tombs are sculptured in the living rock.

Castel d' Asso. The best known of these sculptured façades are those at Castel d' Asso, vulgarly called Castellaccio, only five miles from Viterbo. This city is generally identified with Castellum Axia men-



Mosconi photo.

SCULPTURED FAÇADES
Castel d'Asso

tioned by Cicero, Axia being the Latinized form of Acsi, an Etruscan family name found in a tomb at Perugia. Those antiquarians who have wished to connect it with the Fanum Voltumnae, the shrine of the great Etruscan goddess, do not seem to have had any valid reason for their opinion. On the contrary, no stores of votive objects, ruins of temples nor other indications of a great religious centre exist. It is planted right in Maremma, that now pestilential, once bounteously fertile, district, and was probably merely the provincial centre whose cemeteries received the rural inhabitants when they passed from this life.

The grandeur of its rock sculptures impresses all who visit them, and they have been compared to the tombs of the kings at Thebes. I have already called attention to their likeness to the rock-hewn tombs of Asia Minor. A cone-shaped tomb like that at Bieda lies at the mouth of one of the valleys, but nothing to indicate its former inmate has been found; he may have been the Acsi who gave his name to the town and was thus buried apart in a form of sepulchre reserved to the great and powerful.

Unlike Norchia, which lacks inscriptions, the tombs at Castel d' Asso possess a number. One of the peculiarities of the large sculptured doorways to many of the tombs is that they are false, for the real door, giving entrance to the tomb, is below and

much smaller, and was easily concealed by earth when the sepulchre was closed.

All the tombs have been rifled long ages ago, but some objects that had escaped the robbers have been found, bronzes, pottery, jewellery and scarabei of high antiquity, but systematic excavations are needed to give truly reliable information as to their date and history.

The ruined fortress which gives its name to the spot dates from the fifteenth century, and adds to the grandly picturesque aspect of this site, where all the mighty works of man are abandoned to the mightier forces of nature. No description can do justice to the weird beauty of these deserted ruins; they must be visited for it to be realized. There are several fine isolated tombs at short distances from Castel d' Asso; as these are found in the neighbourhood of other Etruscan cities they are perhaps the private tombs of some great family. One called the Grotta Colonna is about a mile from Castel d' Asso; it is nearly 70 feet long and contains a double row of niches sunk in the rock with a passage down the middle.

Norchia. Norchia can be visited either from Viterbo or from Vetralla, from which it is distant about six miles. The site is completely deserted: all signs of life are absent; only on the faces of the cliffs, which rise steeply from the surrounding glens, the sculptured rock tells of the handiwork of men. The



Missioni, photo.

SCULPTURED FAÇADES
Norchia

ruins of a church mark the spot where probably the arx of the Etruscan city stood. All vestiges of its walls, gates and temples have disappeared, such débris as may remain is buried in the earth or overgrown by vegetation. The cemetery is even larger than those of Bieda and Castel d' Asso, but here also the town was a small one and we do not even know what was its ancient name. The façades of the tombs, which I describe more fully in the chapter on sculpture, are chiefly imitations of temples, mostly of the simple Doric style, with doorways narrower at the top, reminding one of Egyptian architecture. The height of the cliff, nearly 300 feet, and the shape of the glen, widening here to the form of an amphitheatre, renders the cemetery at Norchia one of the most impressive of this striking and imposing group. No inscriptions have been found here, a remarkable circumstance in itself. The place was called Orcle in the ninth century, and there are ruins of an ancient church of Lombard architecture.

Vetralla is the second station from Viterbo on the line to Rome ; Bieda, the site of the next most famous collection of rock-hewn tombs, should be visited thence.

Bieda. Is distant from Vetralla about six miles and its Roman name was Blera ; nothing is known of it historically, except what we learn from the monuments which have made it famous. At

present only a village exists on the spot. The two bridges which span the ravines around the old ruined town are splendid specimens of ancient masonry, the size of the blocks of stone and the perfection of the arches make them well worth attention. An old bridge is always a picturesque object in a landscape, and these at Bieda in the impressive solitude, with tangled vegetation and precipices overhanging them, are enchanting. One has been restored in Roman times and is called Ponte Romana but is fundamentally Etruscan in construction. The traceable site of the city is not very large, for though long it is very narrow, but the cemeteries are vast, extending along the cliffs in all directions. This may be explained by regarding Bieda rather as the centre of a populous country district, whose inhabitants buried their dead in its wonderful cemeteries, than as a great industrial town. The cliffs, in which the tombs are excavated, are terraced, and most of the façades are hewn into the form of houses with sloping roofs, overhanging eaves and moulded doorways. Dennis was particularly struck here with the town-like arrangement of the streets of tombs, which makes the cemetery appear veritably a city of the dead. The shape and decoration of the interior of the tombs is equally home-like. As we have seen elsewhere, there are, besides the finely decorated and large tombs of many chambers, a number of niches



Moscioni, photo.

BRIDGE
Brida

hollowed in the cliffs, just large enough for an extended body. One tumulus-shaped tomb exists, quarried out of the rock, which is cut into steps above the dome-like interior, which consists of a sepulchre approached by a passage. If, as has been suggested, tombs of this shape cover the remains of high dignitaries and distinguished families, one may suppose that they were originally surmounted by those masterpieces of the Etruscan sculptor, the complete disappearance of which we have to deplore. In their exposed position they would be the first to suffer demolition when the place fell into the hands of the enemy. There is also a tomb in which there are some traces of painting, but this method of decoration was evidently not in favour with the inhabitants of Bieda. Sculpture occupied the first place in their sepulchral ornamentation. The sculptured façades alone would render Bieda worth visiting, without any other attractions, but the wild picturesqueness of the scenery and the interesting remains of masonry both in bridges and walls, combine to make it one of the most alluring of Etruscan sites. The only drawback is the difficulty and fatigue of the excursion, which puts it beyond the powers of those who are not good walkers and able to endure a long and tiring day.

Sutri. **Sutrium.** Sutri like Ferento is chiefly remarkable for the remains of one building; in the

case of Ferento it was a theatre, while at Sutri it is an amphitheatre which claims attention. Sutri did not play any part in the history of Etruria and was probably early taken and reduced to subjection by the Romans. It is reached from Capranica two stations beyond Vetralla, a branch thence going to Ronciglione and Madonna del Parto, from either of which Sutri can be visited.

Modern Sutri occupies the place of ancient Sutrium; there are not two sites, one of the old Etruscan city and the other of the Romanized town; the old buildings have been pulled down and built into the present village and little of Etruscan construction, except portions of the walls and sewers, is to be seen. The situation is the usual picturesque insulated rock-bound hill, with ravines on all sides but one. An ancient bridge, as at Civit  Castellana, formerly spanned one of the ravines but the French broke it down in 1798. Three of the gates are ancient, two are of more modern date and these two have medieval Latin inscriptions over them, one of which runs thus "Sutrium Etruriae claustra urbs socia Romanis colonia conjuncta Julia," and the other "A Pelasgis Sutrium conditur."

The amphitheatre which, being hewn out of the rock, is remarkably well preserved, lies in the grounds of a villa belonging to the Savorelli family. Dennis gives a very lively description of it. He writes:

"Imagine an epitome of the Colosseum, or of any other amphitheatre, with corridors, seats and vomitories; the seats in many parts perfect and the flights of steps particularly sharp and fresh. Imagine such an amphitheatre, smaller than such structures in general, not built up with masonry, but in its every part hewn from the solid rock, and most richly coloured, green and grey weather-tints harmonizing with the natural warm red hue of the tufo; the upper edge of the whole not merely fringed with shrubs, but bristling all round with forest trees, which on one side overshadow it in a dense wood, the classical ilex mingling with the solemn cypress, and you have the amphitheatre of Sutri. The imagination of a Claude or a Poussin could not have conceived a Sylvan theatre of more picturesque character."

The length of the arena is about one hundred and sixty feet and its breadth about one hundred and thirty-two feet. In structures of this type, no doubt, the games and races we see pictured in the painted tombs took place. They were the types which Rome followed in the Circus Maximus and other amphitheatres. There seems to have been a little temple against the wall of rock, which overhangs the amphitheatre on one side, where small half columns are carved in relief and niches for statues. A similar enclosure is found in the theatre at Fiesole; it was probably usual to have a temple with statues of the

gods presiding over the diversions of the people. The tombs at Sutri do not offer any special characteristics and have most of them been partly ruined and converted to the uses of the peasantry. A few have sculptured façades.

There is an interesting little church hewn out of the rock called the Madonna del Parto, which bears such evident traces of high antiquity, that one feels convinced that the early Christians converted an ancient tomb to their own purposes. A number of underground passages have the usual stories told about them, in which labyrinths, hidden treasures and hiding-places of persecuted early Christians, are included. A tomb in a thicket, a little way from the town, is locally called the Grotta d'Orlando. The story told is, that while on his way to Rome with the army of Charlemagne, Orlando fell in love with a maiden of Sutri and that they took refuge in this cave. It is obviously an old tomb and how a tradition so far-fetched has come to be attached to it is a mystery. The gloom and mystery of Etruscan sepulchres, the strange and varied nature of the objects found in them, the underground passages leading from one chamber to another, have naturally powerfully impressed the minds of the populace and have led to a fine crop of legends of ghosts, hidden treasures, demons and murders in all these sites. The fact that these abandoned subterranean dens

have attracted and served as hiding-places to smugglers, brigands and other outlaws from civilized life, furnishes the touch which gives actuality to the legends; to say nothing of there having been a motive, in the past, for evil-doers to spread reports likely to frighten intruders from their haunts.

CHAPTER VIII

LINKS BETWEEN OLD ETRURIA AND MODERN TUSCANY

MANY years have passed since the day on which the charm and mystery of the vanished Etruscan nation first took hold of my imagination. It happened in the course of a long solitary ramble on the slopes between Perugia and Assisi, a ramble during which I had lingered beside a medieval shrine flanked by two sentinel cypress trees, its frescoed Madonna softly fading with the crumbling stucco into a mist of half tones. On the shallow steps of pink brick lay a few pathetic little bunches of wild flowers left by passing worshippers. I seated myself on these steps and looked across the wide valley to the birthplace of St Francis, grey against a background of dark mountain; around and below me the vines flung their tendrils from tree to tree and cast a freckled shade on the rich sunburnt earth. A group of peasants came up the winding road, the women carried baskets or bundles on their heads and children clung to their

skirts. As I looked at their clear eyes and broad brows from which the hair receded in soft waving locks, leaving the temples round and bare, it seemed to me that but little change had been wrought in these people since Perugino and his pupils painted just such fair smooth-browed women and wide-eyed curly-headed children. Musing on the past I went on my way and presently came to a wayside tomb whose entrance, now repaired and modernized, then sunk unnoticed below the earth. An old man who opened the door, after presenting me with a bit of candle, sat down on the steps and troubled me with no chatter. I entered the tomb of the Volumnii practically alone. Many more ancient and more interesting tombs have I seen since then, but this was my first experience and at the time, having read little or nothing on the subject, my preconceived notions were vague and shadowy in the extreme. I walked down from the bright sunshine not into a rough-hewn vault or cavern strewn with fragments of bones and coffins as I had half expected, but into a well-proportioned room with walls and ceilings sculptured in the rock and an inscription in clearly incised letters on the doorpost. On all sides of me were ash chests and on them effigies of men and women leant on their elbows and looked down on me with calm, proud, intellectual faces. Lying there as they had lain for over twenty-five centuries, crowned

with laurel or oak, draped in their graceful robes holding the emblems of their faith, grave, refined and cultured in every line and detail of dress and feature, they bore the message of the dead whose images they were. I was touched by a new spirit, a sense of fellowship possessed me which I have never lost. The sense of communion with the past vaguely felt on the steps of the old shrine came back with overwhelming force. I was in touch with the Volumnii and their nation, and the age of Perugino became but a link between me and a remoter past. From a state of blank ignorance and indifference I passed to one of keen interest.

As I came out again into the light of day, Perugino and his fellows seemed of yesterday, shoots from the roots of an old tree long since cut down but sending up living saplings as witnesses of its wonderful vitality.

The soil of Italy, rich as it was in memories before, seemed to need this deepest revelation to give point and meaning to the lessons it teaches at every step. Behind the Middle Ages, behind the terrible days of the breaking up of the Roman Empire, behind that Empire, with its horrors and its glories, comes the original root and stock of European civilization. Without it, Roman culture is only half explained, beside it, Roman power is a yoke, under which the nations bent in an outward uniformity,

their natural evolution checked and diverted. Buried deep in the ruins of a dead past, germs lay dormant, ready to spring up and fructify when the time came. To follow out all these manifestations would be a colossal undertaking, but to touch lightly their surface is not outside the scope of this little work.

In the hilly parts of Tuscany and Umbria it is easier to imagine the aspect of the country in pre-historic times than in any other part of Europe. Noël des Vergers says: "Les Etrusques ont habité le pays tel, à peu près, qu'il est aujourd'hui, quant aux circonstances de la géographie physique."

The hill towns are the same in shape and size as when surrounded by Etruscan walls and crowned by their temples and monuments. The medieval battlements are planted on the lowest strata of the Etruscan wall, the churches stand on the foundations of the pagan temples, and the citadel occupies the site of the arx.

The valleys below, though the nature of the produce may have varied, still present the garden-like tillage, which gives the Tuscan landscape its intimate charm and which was sung by poets who mourned its disappearance when Roman latifundi, with gangs of slaves, ruined the intensive culture of the peasant husbandman. It is on the great plains such as Maremma or the open ground of the Roman Campagna that a real effort of imagination

is required to reconstruct fertile and thickly populated stretches of country out of these desolate wastes. Even here, however, the task is made easier by the care with which the sites of cities were selected. A promontory of high ground running out into the plain was chosen and the slopes artificially scarped on three sides where natural cliffs were not already there. The shape of these promontories deserves attention, no doubt certain geographical features helped the founders of the cities, but the general aspect of an Etruscan site is too uniform to be due altogether to nature, and in many cases vestiges of the stupendous works necessary to weld the earth and the town into one impregnable whole are still visible to-day. The culminating point on which the arx or citadel was perched frequently consisted of a natural rock afterwards quarried into the shape desired, but at other times, among the masses of earth and débris which form the foundation for the medieval fortress, traces of the artificial substratum of the older building may be detected. The tumuli which dot the immediately surrounding country are by their cone-like form landmarks recalling the former features of the land. It is this contest and final truce and harmonious blending of nature with art which gives to Italian landscape that architectural outline which the old masters knew so well how to take advantage of, and which first puzzles and then

charms the stranger. Here nature is not outraged as it is too often in modern works of man. No violence is done to her charm, added height and steepness only give dignity to hills and mystery to deepened glens, quarries become sculptured halls and façades; even such prosaic works as drainage and irrigation are beautified; streams and waters of lakes are conducted through archways and galleries to those points where they encircle the towns or add to the fertility of the country around.

No modification of natural features that could add to the well-being of the population or its safety was neglected by the wisdom of the framers of the laws of Tages; no effort was beyond their indomitable will and energy. Even the cemeteries which surrounded every city were not the depressing and unwholesome enclosures which we associate with the name. The beauty of the sites, the carved and sculptured façades, the arrangement in streets and open squares, the guardian statues all show care for external pleasantness. That flowers, shrubs, creepers and trees added their charms, we cannot doubt noting the way they are introduced in decorative schemes, painted or sculptured on the tombs. The embalming of the bodies when not cremated, the fumigations and purifications which the numerous vessels in the tombs denote were all sanitary precautions, and we come to regard the zone of

burial ground rather as a beautiful park or series of terraced walks than as a spot dedicated to sadness or set apart for melancholy celebrations.

We can picture an Etruscan family strolling in the cool of the evening through shaded alleys and terraces and stopping to make an offering of flowers or fruit at the family vault, regarding with philosophic calm the prospect of rejoining those who had departed for the other world and so well furnished with all that was necessary to make the journey pleasant. This duty performed they might pursue their way till they reached the sacred grove where beside a spring, the portico of a temple, with pediment of gilded bronze and tinted terra-cotta, glowed among the foliage, while burnished lamps shed a fitful light on the frescoes surrounding statues of the gods in the cellae within. Leaving these imaginary scenes and returning to the typographical indications on which the most practical mind may rely, Livy and Vitruvius speak of the spaces outside and inside the walls which were held sacred and on which profane buildings were not allowed to be erected, and Vitruvius mentions the temples of the gods which were ordered to be erected near the gates. Here we have one of the links between past and present in the convents with their gardens which occupy or occupied till lately the spaces immediately inside or outside the gates of Tuscan towns.

The streets and public buildings of the towns of Tuscany are full of points of resemblance to the ancient architecture. The wide spreading eaves which so characteristically divide the Etruscan from the Greek temple still extend their grateful shade along the streets, the rusticated masonry is but a variety of the quadrilateral, a variety used by the Etruscans themselves and the loggias have their counterparts in the architectural detail of some of the tombs.

Dennis truly remarks "The grand palaces of Florence and Siena, so far as masonry is concerned, may be purely traditional imitations of those Etruscan Lucumones raised twenty-five centuries ago."

It was also observed by Dennis that the braccio, the common measure in Tuscany before the metric system was introduced and still used by the country people to whom a metre is a newfangled measure conveying no clear idea to their minds, is just double the Roman foot. Now the length of the blocks of stone in the Etruscan quadrilateral masonry corresponds with the braccio and the measurements of the so-called Tanella di Pitagora at Cortona, a very perfect specimen of an early Etruscan tomb, agree in the multiples and divisions of its dimensions with those of the braccio. The extent to which the early Christian churches in Tuscany adhered to the plan of an Etruscan temple has hardly been sufficiently

brought out; it was usual to attribute their form to an adaptation of the basilica of Pagan Rome, but that derivation has been abandoned by many critics except in the case of the large Christian basilicas of Rome which are indeed rather huge halls than temples, and not only suggest derivation from a hall of audience or justice, but were probably used as such all through the early Middle Ages. The early church for the celebration of the mysteries of the cult was in the most ancient examples comparatively small, and many of its characteristics correspond with the Etruscan temple. The three cellae containing statues of the gods at the eastern end answer to the sanctuary with chapels on either side of the church, and just as we read that the statues of the gods in the cellae must always face west, so do the images of the saints in the chapels.

When art revived again after the dark centuries during which the ancient culture had been stamped out, it cast about vaguely for a foothold among the ruins of the past. It was only when that standing ground had been firmly secured and the new art had shot forth with vigorous growth that it began to be conscious of its derivation.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries admiration for the art and literature of ancient Rome was enthusiastically voiced, not only by artists and authors, but by society at large and all alike

demanded a return to the ideals of classical antiquity. The heaven had been working however long before. Those unknown artists, who, working in isolation prepared the way for the great art schools of the renaissance had studied and been inspired by the fragments of antiquity; infinitely more numerous then than they became a few centuries later.

In those early ages after the great catastrophes and before the resurrection of wealth and enterprise who can count the numbers of lonely temples and ruined monuments which remained in lonely spots with their friezes, pediments, capitals, reliefs and statuary overthrown and defaced, but recognizable in all their innate beauty to the eye of the artist? When, with the return of prosperity and the inextinguishable necessity of each generation to express itself to the utmost, the constructive passion returned to mankind, then old ruined temples and monuments were cleared away, their columns and hewn and sculptured stones were incorporated into the new buildings and the havoc begun by conquering armies and barbarian hordes was consummated in the interest of revived culture and civilization. As Durm says: "Eine Kultur zerstörte die andere, und auch eine Kunstweise die andere, und die Mode, die stärker ist als alles, besorgt die Vernichtung des Vorausgegangenen auf das Gründlichste¹."

¹ *Baustile der Etrusker.*

In this period of life-giving destruction Etruscan art went under. With no literary tradition to introduce and render it respectable, it was quite neglected or called Greek or Roman. Much of that early art which escaped the critical definitions of the day perished unnoticed; but it had done its work. The resemblances between early Italian and Etruscan art cannot be regarded as fortuitous. It is distinguishable from that mere copying of decadent Roman sculpture which became common when the spirit of genius was exhausted and the artists were losing originality and settling down into plagiarists. Other peculiarities such as the ancient symbols continue right through. We have the disk with rays, the fylfot or gammadion, the double volute and so-called Gorgon's head and the dolphin and sea-serpent appearing on medieval sarcophagi as they appeared on Greco-Roman and Etruscan. A most interesting study is that of the early Romanesque capitals in Tuscany. These are obviously copied from or inspired by classic models, but the excessively rough and often childish clumsy technique as well as the naïveté of conception show that the sculptors were beginners, ignorant of all the technical methods of their art. The models which inspired them are chiefly Etruscan; the flat abacus, the volute at each corner with human mask between rampant lions or panthers, the griffins and sphinxes as they appear

on sarcophagi at Chiusi or Toscanella or in tombs at Cere or Tarquinii are characteristics of these capitals. Here and there a bit of later work, a Corinthian capital, a piece of foliated acanthus or something similar is introduced, but ignorantly, sometimes even upside down, evidently quite without knowledge of the style of architecture to which it belonged. When we come to the real renaissance of sculpture in Italy, to the Pisani and the pulpits of Pisa, Siena and Lucca, the affinities become more complicated. The opinion that Niccolo Pisano was Niccolo di Puglia and came from Apulia introduces a fresh element to understand which requires a study of those wonderful churches of Apulia unknown to tourists and almost unknown even to archaeologists.

A sarcophagus in S. Frediano at Lucca where winged genii dance, one holding a reversed torch and the other a mirror, is of course wholly Etruscan in symbolism and design; whether it is a copy of a genuine one or is ancient work I leave to artists to decide. Fergusson notes the Etruscan influence in both form and detail of the tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna and points out the receding cornice, similar to those of the tombs at Castel d' Asso.

Venturi has noticed the affinity between Michelangelo's statues on the Medici tombs at San Lorenzo and "the strong and noble figures seated beside the

gate on the urn Arnth Velimnas Aules in the tomb of the Volumnii." Frova remarks that the latter have the austerity of the statues of Michelangelo and are inspired with the same sense of mystery and invitation to profound meditation to which the austere simplicity of the tombs where the statues are found contributes powerfully.

This is, however, not a case of unconscious, but probably of more or less conscious, adaptation of ancient works of art known to Michelangelo and used to work out the conception of the sculptor. We know that the great renaissance artists had no false shame about copying or adapting, nor did they pique themselves upon originality as do some modern weaklings who will not look upon a masterpiece of the past lest it should kill their feeble spurt of original genius. Those Masters of their art were original without thinking about it, and took material wherever they found it and as soon as they touched it it was transfigured and became part of themselves and was merged in the creative force of their genius.

The preference for terra-cotta as a medium for the plastic art revived with the della Robbias who again filled Tuscany with creations which beautified not only the interior of church and palace, but bordered the roads with exquisite wayside shrines and surmounted the doors and porticoes of numberless places of worship and public buildings with a deco-

ration that weather was powerless to injure. It has been left for the hand of man to tear them from the places where they were put by their creators and for which unerring taste and genius had specially fashioned them, and to set them against flat museum walls in rows of desolate and murderous banality. The barbarians dashed to pieces the terra-cotta friezes and reliefs of which we gather up the fragments, but they hardly did them a worse turn than do the curators of museums when they lay hands on the della Robbias to-day. Vandalism puts on kid gloves and talks art gibberish at one period, at another it takes clubs and stones and smashes and defaces right and left, but it is vandalism under whichever form and hardly less fatal to art in the one incarnation than in the other.

With regard to early Italian painting, it is doubtful whether the very early painters could have been acquainted with the frescoes of the painted tombs. These were probably covered up and lost sight of, before the art of painting revived. The mosaics and Byzantine paintings, which influenced the pre-Giottesque artists, had little of Etruscan grace and freedom. As soon however as the strict rules of Byzantine tradition were relaxed, a return to certain features in Etruscan art is visible. It takes a quite different form from the direct imitation of the sculptors, and seems as if it might rather be attri-

buted to some natural proclivities springing up unaided. In the first place it is not the latest period, not that immediately preceding the Roman conquest, which appears. It is the personages of the tall slender type of the life-sized effigies and of the painted tombs with small heads and long hands and feet, which return to life in the paintings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the frescoes again the processional arrangement and the division of the walls into bands with borders between, the upright trees, cypress or myrtle, dividing one scene from another, and above all the introduction of small animals and birds in corners, under tables or in the air, are such noticeable features in the frescoes both of Etruscan and early Tuscan artists, that even admitting the possibility of the latter being acquainted with the painted tombs, or with other frescoes since destroyed, there is an obvious attraction towards certain forms and an inclination to return to the fancies and ideals of remote progenitors. The resemblance between the demons of Etruscan art, which hover around the departing souls and intervene in the mythological scenes, and the demons of the Campo Santo at Pisa, has been pointed out by Arturo Frova in his articles in the Italian periodical *Il Rinascimento*. There are the same vultures' heads, claws and hoofs in place of hands and feet, writhing serpents for hair and weapons in the shape

of pitchforks, hooks, hammers or clubs. The fact of the appearance of these truculent figures in both Etruscan and medieval art may be explained by the fact that the Etruscan conception of the relations of man with the unseen approached much nearer to that of the Christians of the Middle Ages than did that of the Greeks. The Etruscans seem to have held the belief in a contest between good and evil influences, for the possession of the departing soul, which was so present to the mind of the artists of the Pisan Campo Santo. But the identity of the form given to the monsters and of their attributes shows either conscious or unconscious imitation.

Frova says: "The analogy between the Etruscan and medieval demons is worth noticing, more particularly through confronting one with another, to which the Triumph of Death in the Campo Santo of Pisa lends itself well. Dobbert who studied the classic affinities of the painting, limits himself specially to the Greco-Roman elements and leaves out the Etruscan, to which he alludes, in passing, as of secondary importance, while to me they seem greater than the other, because they are not reduced to mere details but refer to entire figures and are all the more important because, more than the others, they are not only formal but also fundamental." He then goes on to point out, that whereas the classic motives cited by Dobbert refer only to the winged "putti"

holding scrolls or flinging arrows, which are purely ornamental and to a figure of death doubtfully classic in inspiration, the analogy between the devils of the Triumph and the Etruscan demons is much more evident. The resemblance of the devils, who pull the souls of the dead out of their mouths, to the head of Charun in the tomb of the Orco and that on the vase of Admeto and Alceste, with vulture beaks, rapacious air and shaggy hair I have noticed, the medieval type being rather more horrible, having a bat's body instead of that of a bird or human being. He also calls attention to the likeness between the monster Tuchulcha in the Tomba dell' Orco, with the enormous face and wide open jaws, and the devils of the Campo Santo, and notes the resemblance between the genii with wings on shoulders and feet, who carry the souls in their arms, and the guardian angels carrying their charges in Christian art. Vanth, as the good genii are labelled, is generally taken as the name of a good spirit, who opposes Charun the evil genius of death, but I incline to the opinion, against which so far I have seen no objection, that Vanth was rather a general term for a good spirit answering to the name in Christian hagiography of angel, and opposed, as we see, to hideous demons, representing the forces of evil. Charun according to my idea represents something different; he is the figure of the material side of death, the ugly painful part, which is in-

evitably present and has nothing to do with the battle of spiritual influences for the soul after death. He is always present armed with his hammer, ugly and terrible, but he never actively torments the soul, nor does he seem meant, in any single relief or painting, to symbolize anything beyond an executioner; whereas the hideous demons who dispute with the good genii, or who hover round and make attempts to possess themselves of the dead, have the attributes which human fancy gives to creatures of the infernal regions. In looking at all the symbolical figures so largely used in medieval art, the persistence of types and the derivation from classic models has always been remarkable, but there is a further subdivision which strikes anyone who confronts reproductions of Etruscan statuary and painting with that of medieval Tuscan work or that derived directly from Tuscan sources. Here the likeness goes much further and enters into more intimate details. The crouching lions, on which so many sculptured pedestals of medieval statues rest, are the exact counterparts of the lions at the doors of Etruscan tombs, a beast who differs in various particulars from the lion in northern and Roman art; the same may be said of sphinxes, leopards and other animals and even of horses, the decorative forms given to them in early Tuscan art recalling forcibly Etruscan models of the middle period, before they lost individual characteristics.

To the works of artists and craftsmen, who found so much of their inspiration in the relics of the past, we may add yet another field for research; customs die hard, especially in mountain districts untraversed by direct routes of communication and the habits of an illiterate peasantry change but little in the course of centuries. When we add to these causes for the permanence of their customs, the deep root that religious mysticism takes in a nation and the fact that the early Christian church left much of the outward framework of religion untouched, and, while it converted pagan temples and monuments into Christian churches and shrines, also changed the festivals of the gods and the rites connected with them into celebrations of Christian dogmas and saints, we can understand how much of the old life became incorporated in the new.

The votive offerings hanging beside the altars in Italian churches had, as we have seen, their counterparts, which are found wherever the vestiges of an Etruscan temple or holy well exist. This custom and that of casting some bronze object into a well, or a stone on a cairn, are universal throughout a great part of Europe. The country people who throw a pin for good luck into springs in the west of England and Wales are following the tradition which made the Etruscans throw the little bronze figures into Lake Ciliegi on Falterona, a tradition which may still be traced in the dramatic gesture with which

the peasantry, after praying in the chapel of the Stigmata at La Verna, cast a small bronze coin through the grating which covers the holy stone on which the saint stood to receive his miraculous visitation. The flinging of a stone upon a cairn by passers-by at a spot where anyone has met with a violent death, practised in countries as far apart as Spain and Scotland, appears to be an even earlier form of this usage. The early tombs on the Pietrera at Vetulonia were found filled up with small stones, thrown apparently into the cavity from a height. Prof. Milani suggests this may be the origin of the custom of throwing a handful of earth into the grave on the coffin at a funeral. It is however in the festivals and amusements that the clearest indications of a primitive derivation can be traced. The tower festivals still celebrated in several towns of central and southern Italy are examples. That these towers symbolize light in some form or other and that they are consequently connected with the sun-worship of antiquity seems certain. The name by which the towers are known at Gubbio, where the feast is kept with great enthusiasm, is *Ceri*, i.e. tapers. Now there is nothing very like a taper in the present top-heavy constructions of lath and plaster, which are carried in the procession by stalwart members of the guilds of the *Muratori*, *Contadini* and *Mercanti*. The name is evidently traditional. These towers are

carried through the streets at a run by relays of bearers with occasional stoppages at certain spots, where the tower is made to turn round and round on itself, like the Jack-in-the-Green of one's youth. The celebration takes place on the feast of S. Ubaldo at Gubbio, of Santa Rosa of Viterbo, of Santa Rosalia of Palermo and on the so-called feasts of the Gigli of Nola, the Rua of Vicenza and the Vara of Messina. The pagan survivals in these festivals are sometimes so merged with the Christian ceremonial as not to be easily divided, but in other cases they are clearly discernible.

This is especially the case at Gubbio, where two processions perambulate the town, one, of clergy led by the bishop which leaves the cathedral, with slow gait and solemn chant, carrying the relics of S. Ubaldo—while the other, consisting of the forty *ceraïoli* or bearers of the *Ceri*, surrounded by a hustling crowd, trots along singing wild folk-songs. Up and down the steep streets the two processions go, often in adjacent streets, but never meeting, till, at a given spot near one of the gates, the encounter takes place. Then the *Ceri* are made by their bearers to bow low in salutation of the bishop, who gives the episcopal benediction. Immediately on this, the *ceraïoli* start at a run, tearing along carrying their burdens, ten men to each *Ceri*, and the crowd runs too, yelling "Viva San Ubaldo" with

all their might, and thus accompanied the Ceri are borne out of the town and up the steep zigzag road to the monastery of S. Ubaldo, perched high on the mountain side. The sight, as the crowd comes rushing down the Corso after the benediction, wild with excitement, shouting themselves hoarse, the Ceri in their midst swaying and reeling like ships in a rough sea, is one of the most curious possible and certainly more reminiscent of a Bacchanalian orgie than a Christian celebration. That the homage to the bishop by the Ceri, and their subsequent headlong flight from the city, symbolizes the triumph of the new faith over the old, cannot be doubted, and it was probably by making these changes that the pagan festival was allowed to go on, the clergy thus adapting instead of trying to entirely suppress the popular festa. S. Ubaldo was a canonized bishop of Gubbio who saved the city by his timely intervention from destruction by the Huns, and in gratitude to his memory his festival was probably incorporated with the time-honoured celebration of the Ceri.

The races of horses either unmounted or ridden bare-backed through the towns, which was once so common a feature in Italy and now survives only in the Palio of Siena, have also been traced to Etruscan times. The Palio probably owes its preservation to having been made the occasion of exalting the prowess of the citizens in their victory over the rival

city of Florence at the battle of Montaperto. The custom of bringing the horses into the chapels of the guilds or Contrade to which their riders belong, to be sprinkled with holy water and blessed by the priest, has a smack of an earlier pagan rite.

The giostre, still played by the peasants in remote villages of the Apennines, carry on the traditions of the "hister" who brought the dramatic art to Rome and who we are told recited to the sound of a pipe. The giostra players declaim in a sort of Gregorian chant in a plaintive minor key, accompanied by a pipe or little fiddle. The subjects of these giostre are sometimes Bible stories, Joseph and his brethren or the story of David, but there are also some mythical legends that I have not been able to identify. They differ from the regular miracle plays, in that I could not hear that they ever represented the gospel narrative. The words would have to be taken down on the spot, as they have neither books nor MSS., and when asked say they learnt them in the winter evenings, from the old men and women, who all knew them. The public performances of these giostre have been for the most part discontinued, but I was present at the resuscitation of one after fifty years neglect, in the Pistoiese Apennines, where it was played out of doors, at the village festas of the region. It was entirely due to the enterprise of one old peasant,

who had acted in his youth and drilled the new generation. When I asked him about the written text of the plays, he said he had never seen them nor anyone else in those parts, but that they were kept at Volterra. This traditional connection of Volterra, the Etruscan capital of the district, with the giostre seemed to me strange and perhaps significant.

The folk-lore of the peasantry is full, naturally, of legends linking the present with classic times. Leland in *Etruscan Remains* gives some of these. One, quoted by him from the little Tuscan town of Rocco San Casciano, is as follows :

“ When one would find a treasure, he must take the door of the house in which he dwells and carry it forth into the fields at night, till he come under a tree. Then he must wait till many birds fly over him, and when they come he must throw down the door making a great noise. Then the birds in fear will speak with a human voice and tell where the treasure is buried.”

The connection here with the Etruscan belief in augury by the flight of birds and the hunt for treasure in Etruscan tombs, which must have gone on all through the Middle Ages, is curious.

Leland's tales also show the belief in a foletto or spirit called Tinia who still controls the thunder, as did the Etruscan god, and a number of other spirits

or goblins have names strongly resembling the Etruscan gods and possess the same attributes. There is Aplu who is a wise spirit (Apollo), and the Lemuri graveyard goblins who answer to the Lemures shades of the dead. He also found that those old wives or other more or less suspicious characters, in out of the way villages or byways, who dispensed charms, cured illnesses and generally practised magical rites, were described by the people as belonging to the old religion, and he sees here the remnants of paganism carried on through the centuries after Christianity had become the religion of the country and preserving not only the superstitions and rites but even the names of the gods as foletti or familiar spirits and goblins. It is significant that it is not the Latin but the Etruscan names that are thus preserved, showing that the Etruscan religion and possibly also the language was preserved in remote corners of Tuscany, underneath the official cult of Rome. Turms, the Etruscan Mercury, is perpetuated as Teramo, Nortia (Fortuna) as Norcia, Turan (Venus) as Turanna and so on. A story told to the writer by a charcoal burner in the great chestnut forest, which covers the lower slopes of Monte Amiata on the border of the Tuscan Maremma, has no doubt a Pagan derivation. In this forest far from railways the Barocciaio or carrier is an important person and the hero of many adventures.

A barocciaio, travelling by night, came to a spot where his mules would go no further; looking around he saw an old man, who mounted the baroccio (country cart) and immediately the mules went forward. Presently they came to a church, when the old man said: "Go in and ring the church bells." The barocciaio answered: "Buon' vecchio, the church tower will be shut at this hour." The old man answered: "Do as I say." So the barocciaio got off the cart and went to the church, and to his surprise the door of the tower was open, but in the doorway stood a great lady in a beautiful mantle with a child in her arms. She asked: "What do you want to do?" and the barocciaio said: "Ring the bells"; and she asked: "Who told you to ring them"; he answered: "The old man"; and she answered: "If you had obeyed him, it would have rained fire upon the earth for three days." So he went back to the old man, who asked why he had not rung the bells. He told him what the lady had said, whereupon the old man cried "Maria! Maria! You are the stronger" and disappeared.

To what extent the strong aspirate, so characteristically used by the Florentine, is an Etruscan survival it is impossible to say. Florence not being an Etruscan city would seem fatal to the supposition, yet regarding the spelling of Etruscan words and

names, it seems as if they must have been pronounced with some sort of guttural aspirate, and there may have been special reasons why in the neighbourhood of Fiesole, and consequently in Florence, it should have been preserved, as Latin merged into Italian.

The persistence of games hardly needs to be insisted on. We have evidence from all parts of the world that man soon invented all the chief methods by which he has diverted himself ever since. Modern games are but elaborations and evolutions of the original models.

Some have even come down unchanged to our own times. We have remarked the youths playing at Morra in the Monkey tomb at Chiusi and on the Vulci amphora in the Vatican, where Achileos and Aiantos are standing opposite each other with extended fingers, the words four and three bursting out of their mouths. In the descriptions of this beautiful vase they are stated to be playing at dice, but no dice are visible, and no one who has watched Italians playing Morra can doubt that in this case, as in the fresco in the Monkey tomb, it is Morra that is being played. That the Etruscans did also play dice there is ample evidence in the dice, exactly similar to those used to-day, found in the tombs. It is by means of a set of dice on which the numbers

are written in words, not numbered by dots, that the Etruscan words for numerals have been determined. Knuckle-bones cleaned and polished for use, in the game played with them, both in Greece and Etruria, and which has come down to our own street boys, are found in the tombs, as well as terra-cotta imitations of the bones, doubtless for the same use.

The methods of simple home industries are almost as unchanging as games. The bobbin and shuttles found in the Villanuova tombs at Bologna are similar to those used in hand-weaving now, and the same may be said of many agricultural implements which, until the mechanical contrivances invented during the last century, remained pretty much as the Etruscans left them. This is true in all countries, and the persistence of one form in one country and another in another is due to differences of soil and climate which render one more suitable than another. Those who have dwelt on the Mediterranean sea-board and watched the fishing boats coming in, must have often observed the great eye painted on the bow of some, and been amused at the quaintness of the conceit, which gave to the boat an eye to guide its path through the water; they will see how old was this fashion of boat decoration in a fresco on the wall of a tomb at

Tarquinii where a boat is represented with just such an eye on its bow. Thus in small things, as in great, the persistence of Etruscan types wherever their civilization reigned is apparent.

In ending this sketch of one of the most interesting of ancient nations, a sketch which necessarily can only indicate pathways without following them out to their ultimate destination, I hope that curiosity will not be satisfied with a hasty survey of the various fields of research, but will tempt more enquirers to challenge the secrets of these buried cities of the past. Such research cannot fail to give to the Etruscans a higher place than is generally allotted to them, as a factor in the creation of the culture and civilization of modern Europe. The debt, owed by that culture and civilization to Rome, is universally acknowledged and easily traced, but it is often forgotten or ignored how essentially Rome was the distributor of what it originally owed to Etruria. Rome derived its arts and science, its civic customs and religious rites, in the first instance, from Etruria. Greek influence no doubt, especially in the arts, was a potent force overwhelming at one time native originality, but when it came direct from Greece, imported with the slaves and booty of the conquerors, it was a veneer, a polish, an external decoration, bound to perish when the hand of the barbarian threw down the

outward manifestations of the Roman civilization. The military power of Rome was broken, its empire shattered, its culture died down, and the great city, which was its heart, became first a heap of ruins, then a small medieval town, and of its power and might only a memory survived; but the primitive root elements of that culture remained intact, and slowly, when the time of stress and ruin was past, began to assert themselves. It was just these elements buried deep in the life of the people, independent of outside influence, which acted like yeast in the slowly reviving intellectual and civil life of the ages called Dark. In the homely crafts, the recreations, the customs of daily life, the folklore, the superstitions and the rites of the ancient religion, Etruscan culture was perpetuated and again filtered into the life-blood of Europe. Just as, in the beginning, the Roman Empire had been the channel through which Etruscan culture flowed over Europe, so in the Middle Ages the Roman church fulfilled the same office; in both cases transforming, adapting and evolving, in the first instance towards an ideal of splendid earthly and material power and grandeur, in the second, towards a Christian and spiritual supremacy.

The strength and persistence of the race which has thus impressed itself so powerfully, not only in the Italian peninsula, but far beyond it, must rouse

admiration, and draw forth the query, whether the now rifled sepulchres ending in a museum of antiquities indeed symbolize Etruria, or whether the race will assert itself once more and again give to the world proofs of the artistic energy, which is its strongest bias and most abiding glory?

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